# Worthy writes mag article on Muslims

The Afro-American
Baltimore Md

In the Esquire Magazine for February, AFRO Correspondent William Worthy writes an article on the Muslim movement of Elijah Muhammad.

Mr. Worthy says the religion of the "black supremacy" movement is a "peculiar mixture of orthodox Mohammedism and the personal prejudices of Elijah Muhammad."

He describes followers of the movement as "Quasi - illiterate colored persons equipped with no special skills who find themselves rejected not only by the white man but also by most other colored persons. . ."

These followers are numbered (by Muhammad) at 250,000 and (by another Muslim), 4,000.

* * *

**THESE FOLLOWERS** are connected with 29 "Muslim Temples" in major cities all around the country. Headquarters of the movement is in Chicago where Muhammad hopes to build a 20-million-dollar "Islamic Center."

In these temples, preachers spout a doctrine of hatred for white persons ("A white man's head is made to be busted," says one) and "black nationalism." Muslims foresee the day when colored persons will dominate the world.

On the positive side, Mr. Worthy says, alliance with the movement has several good results among its lower-income-level members. They pay their debts more promptly, are cleaner personally and in their homes and communities.

# William Worthy To Speak At Miles College, Jan. 27

Birmingham World
Birmingham Ala.

William Worthy, journalist, is scheduled to speak at the regular chapel services at Miles College at 12 noon Friday, Jan. 27.

Wed, 1-25-61



**WILLIAM WORTHY**

He is being presented under the auspices of the Miles College Lyceum Committee.

Mr. Worthy, who was in Birmingham during the initial stages of the Montgomery bus protest, is a correspondent for the Afro-American Newspapers of Baltimore and special CBS news correspondent in Russia, Africa and China. He is a veteran of three round-the-world tours of duty.

He was one of three American newsmen to enter Communist China several years ago against the wishes of the State Department. His subsequent battle to force the return of his passport which had been seized by Washington authorities challenged the right of the Secretary of State to put geographical areas of the world out of bounds to United States citizens. After covering such events as the Korean truce negotiations at Panmunjom and the historic Asia-African Conference at Bandung, Mr. Worthy spent a year at Harvard University as a Nieman Fellow in journalism. In 1959-60 he held a Ford Foundation fellowship in African studies.

On his latest foreign assignment Mr. Worthy accompanied a TIME, Inc. television crew to Cuba. During seven weeks there in the summer of 1960 and later in the fall of the same year he and the cameramen filmed the Cuban segment of a Caribbean documentary, "Yankees, No" which was produced for nationwide viewing on television.

## NEWSMAN TO LECTURE

The Commercial

### American Negro Entered China Minus Permission

A Baltimore newspaperman who defied the State Department's ban on travel in Red China will lecture at LeMoyne College Jan. 25.

William Worthy of the Baltimore Afro-American Newspapers and correspondent of CBS News will speak at 2 p.m. in the faculty lounge on the Cuban crisis and at 8:30 p.m. in Second Congregational Church, Walker and McDowell, on, "Asia and Africa: Where are they headed?"



Mr. Worthy

With two other newspapermen, he entered Red China several years ago, after the State Department had refused them permission. His most recent trip was to Cuba.

He is a former Nieman Fellow and was a Ford Foundation Fellow in African Studies last year.

Although the Union of South Africa does not grant entry visas to American Negroes, he managed to enter that country to make an uncensored "live" shortwave broadcast for CBS News.

# Afro Names New Editor

The Defender
Chicago, Ill.

BALTIMORE — (ANP) — Dr. Carl Murphy, publisher of the Afro-American Newspapers, announced the appointment last week of C. Summer (Chuck) Stone, jr. as editor and manager of the Washington Afro-American.

Wk. Jan. 28-Feb. 3-61

He succeeds Art Carter who will return to Baltimore as managing editor of all the Afro-American Newspapers.

Stone, 36, is from Hartford, Conn. He was formerly an associate editor with the Pittsburgh Courier, editor of the defunct New York Age and editor, in-chief of the New York Citizen-Call.

He has served as a CARE representative in Egypt, Gaza and India and more recently was the associate director in charge of economic development programs for the American Committee on Africa.

A graduate of Wesleyan university in Connecticut, Stone holds an M. A. from the university of Chicago.

# Bull Connor polite to William Worthy

The Afro-American
Baltimore Md.

By WILLIAM WORTHY

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — For a brief period Thursday night at police headquarters of the famous Eugene (Bull) Connor, I was treated to his fairly polite, but involuntary hospitality.

If Edward R. Murrow had not simultaneously been in town preparing for a television documentary on race relations in this police - state municipality, the hospitality would have been neither brief nor polite.

It all started with my purchase Wednesday in Memphis of an interstate Greyhound ticket to Montgomery. On arrival here for an overnight stopover, I used the white waiting room to make a local telephone call and to get an apple at the white service counter.

* * *

**THE GIRL** behind the counter refused to sell me the apple. In no mood for nonsense, I picked it up and walked away after plunking down 20 cents on the counter with a remark that I was an interstate passenger, etc.

Subsequently local people have mentioned that the powers that - be are primitive enough to have considered a charge of stealing the apple.

Ten minutes later, between the calls I was trying, the public telephone that I was using rang unexpectedly. A deep Southern voice snarled: "What are you n—rs trying to start trouble for?"

I slammed down the receiver, glanced around at the other telephone alcoves to see if I could spot the brave caller, and instead saw two radio car policemen walking toward me.

* * *

**I REFUSED TO** move to the colored waiting room. So they ended up driving me to headquarters after saying that five white fellows outside were preparing to attack me.

At headquarters, the sergeant finally decided I was to be escorted back to the Greyhound station and left to do whatever I wished.

"We have our local customs down here," he explained. "But the Supreme Court has overruled them."

It was during my overnight stay in this armed tinder box that I learned Ed Murrow has put the Birmingham police and town fathers on the defensive just by landing in town this week with a leg man and camera.

Otherwise, you might have languished in jail incommunicado for days," several white and colored clergymen told me. "The police are on what for them is their best behavior right now."

* * *

**ONLY A MONTH** or two ago the Supreme Court ruled that all interstate bus passengershave a right to eat at dining facilities provided by the bus companies.

So after the police released me I rang up the local FBI office, as I told the cops I was going to do, in order to report the incident.

But every fighter for civil rights in Birmingham informs me that the new attorney general, Robert Kennedy, should be advised that the FBI office here plays footsie with the all powerful Bull Connor and takes no effective action to halt daily infringements on personal liberties.

* * *

guns in this town held by both sides," a television cameraman mentioned over is tapped telephone.

"Not only interracial communication but also communication between whites, even within families and between longtime friends, hve

broken down. An executive told me that his mildly liberal business golfing partner is a drunkard and a Communist."

• • •

**FRIDAY**, I reached Tuskegee from Birmingham hungry, but integrated on an up-front Greyhound bus seat.

It was different for the middle-aged white woman passenger who had been sitting in the adjoining seat when I boarded the bus.

Rather than travel next to me she stalked off in a huff. She was die to leave for her destination at a later hour on another bus.

Dripping with venon and frustration she threw a tongue - lasning in my direction as she picked up her bag and left.

"I hope you're satisfied you've got my seat," she shot at me. "You should know enough when you're in the South to act like a Southerner and not like a damnyankee."

• • •

**IN AN AMUSED** tone I called the obvious after her receding figure: "Your seat is empty. No one is sitting in it. There's room for two of us hre."

Five minutes earlier, before the driver got his constitutional signals straight, I had anticipated spending some time in a Birmingham cell until a judge got around to setting bail and until the bail could be raised.

It's tough in the best of circumstances to be arrested on a weekend. The woman jumped up to protest as soon as I sat in the aisle seat next to her window seat.

The driver took her side and ordered me to move to the rear. Monotonously I cited chapter and verse on the rights of a passenger holding an interstate ticket.

• • •

**UNIMPRESSED, HE** got off and I felt sure he had gone for the cops. But at some point the woman lost out in the discussion that took place on the platform. I rode. She chose to be left behind.

Unkindest cut of all: Two unsympathetic white women with Southern accents snickered at her when she passed their seats on the way out. They called to the driver to get the bus on the road.

Despite my victory, it's a long trip from Birmingham on an empty stomach. Before the bus left I was refused service by the manager of the white cafeteria in the Greyhound station.

"We not integrated here, he told me. "You can get the same food in the colored cafeteria. That's it."

He disappeared in the kitchen.

• • •

**AS SOON** as I return home I shall have my attorney file a suit against Greyhound under the recent 7 to 2 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court. It is now unconstituional for a bus company to discriminate in restaurant facilities against any of its passengers traveling in interstate commerce.

My trip originated in Memphis after a lecture at Lemoyne College. I was headed for Tuskegee Institute to tell an audience in this gerrymandered community about the strong and rigorously enforced anti-discrimination laws in Castro's Cuba.

During my stopover in Birmingham I was in touch by telephone with the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesowrth. His name is known throughout the land for his civil rights leadership in perhaps the roughest, rawest big city in the entire deep South.

• • •

**AT THE YMCA** I breakfasted with two other Birmingham clergymen where heroism spells regular police harassment at best and where it can mean death at any moment.

Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, youthful, confidence - inspiring pastor of Good Hope Presbyterian Church, "stood guard" on the Greyhound platform during my eating and seating difficulties.

The equally young and dedicated white minister, the Rev. Joseph W. Ellwanger of St. Paul Lutheran Church, might have it even tougher psychologically, because he faces the repetitious charge of treason to his race, Southern womanhood and true Americanism.

When my bus pulled out I had the satisfaction of knowing I will be back North in less than a week. I almost felt guilty at leaving behind the Olivers, the Ellwangers,

# Negro writer says Castro facts twisted

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala., Feb. 3—The U. S. government and press are deceiving the American people about Fidel Castro and the Cuban revolution, William Worthy, a prize-winning Negro newspaper correspondent, said here this week.

Worthy, one of three American newsmen to enter Communist China in 1957, said that "the American people have been sold an untrue story."

Worthy's lecture here was part of a 16-day Southern speaking tour.

**Referring to the "untrue story" as a "hatchet job on Castro," he told an audience of about 2000 that "Castro has been misrepresented in the most enormous fashion imaginable."**

"Communism is not the issue in Cuba," he said in blaming the United States for "identifying everything that represents progress in other countries with communism."

"Castro is a symbol of freedom," he added.

Worthy is a foreign correspondent for the Afro-American newspapers in Baltimore. He recently returned from a seven-week assignment in Cuba.

# New AFRO President

**(An Editorial)**

After 39 years Carl Murphy, president of the AFRO-AMERICAN Co., stepped down last week.

John H. Murphy 3rd was elected acting president. Dr. Carl will continue as board chairman and publisher.

If all good things go by threes, and the first two AFRO presidents



JOHN H. MURPHY, III
*Acting President*



MRS. ELIZABETH M. PHILLIPS
*V. President-Treasurer*

served 30 and 39-year terms respectively, the new executive should have before him a long term in office.

In any event, the AFRO is happy to announce that it is able to promote in this third generation of its existence, a young businessman, who at 44, has had 24 years experience in newspaper business right here at home.



MRS. MAE M. DYSON
*Secretary*



JOHN J. OLIVER
*Executive Committee*

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912 AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, JULY 2, 1946 AND JUNE 11, 1960 (74 STAT. 208) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF AFRO - AMERICAN published weekly at Baltimore, Md. for October 1, 1961.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

PUBLISHER: AFRO - AMERICAN Company, 628 N. Eutaw St., Balto. Md.

EDITOR: Cliff Mackay, 4303 Kennison Ave., Balto., Md.

MANAGING EDITOR: Art Carter, 3514 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Wash. D.C.

BUSINESS MANAGER: Howard H. Murphy, 2410 Montebello Terrace, Balto, Md.

2. The owner is a corporation, AFRO-AMERICAN Company, 628 N. Eutaw St., Baltimore, Md. That the following stockholders own more than 1 percent of the total amount of stock:

AFRO - AMERICAN Company; Carl Murphy; D. Arnett and Sadie Murphy Marie E. Murphy; Grace H. Murphy, Estate; John J. Oliver; John H. Murphy, III; Mae E. Dyson and Arnetta M. Lottier, all of Baltimore, Md., and Jean Murphy, Philadelphia, Pa.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of the total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities are: NONE.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required by the act of June 11, 1960 to be included in all statements regardless of frequency of issue.) 33,836.

HOWARD H. MURPHY
Business Manager

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of September, 1961.

ODESSA W. DYSON
Notary Public

(My commission expires May 6, 1963.)

31 1961

AFRO-AMERICAN

**Segregation Question Raised**

# White House Photographers Group Accepts First Negro

Atlanta Daily World
Journal 4-27-61 Pg Atlanta, Ga.

Maurice Sorrell of the Afro-American Newspaper became the first Negro in the history of the White House Press Photographers Association elected to membership, when he was voted in Wednesday, said Frank Cancellare, president of the association.

Cancellare said the vote to admit Sorrell was 60-8, better than the three-fourths vote required.

Only last week, White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger stated to newsmen at Kennedy's news conference that he would discuss with officers of the News Photographers Association whether Negroes could be admitted to that group.

Salinger made the statement in response to a query about the subject from newsmen. Cancellare at that time stated that the organization does not bar Negro members.

He said further, "The one Negro applicant voted on to date was approved by the executive board but failed to get the required three-fourths votes of the association.

Salinger emphasized last week that accredited Negro press photographers are admited to the White House regardless of membership.

# Worthy warns against U. S. troops in Cuba

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md

Newsman William Worthy said Saturday the United States would embroil itself in an Algeria or a Korea-type war should it attempt to topple the Castro government in Cuba by militry force.

**"Military invasion by the U.S. would be doomed to failure because the Cuban people would fight indefinitely," he said.**

Mr. Worthy, speaking to about 80 persons on behalf of the local Fair Play for Cuba Committee which is headed by Herman Hind, said he had "hoped the Gennedy Administration would accept the fact of the revolution but apparently that is not going to happen."

His talk at the Lebanon Baptist Church was critical of the role the United States played in the recent ill-fated rebel invasion of Cuba.

EXPLAINING what he termed the total folly of the operation, Mr. Worthy said the area picked for the lading was near a swamp which is soon to be drained, where people have been given land and homes and where their children are beginning to get good educations.

In a sharp barb, Mr. Worthy declared "The rebels apparently didn't know where they were going to land until they were at sea and opened the CIA (U.S. Central Intelligence Agency) orders."

**Mr. Worthy, a correspondent for the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers, emphasized at the meeting that he was not a member of the Fair Play For Cuba Committee.**

Throughout his talk and question-answer appearance of about three hours, Mr. Worthy was critical of press coverage of Cuba and other situations.

He recalled there were "the wildest type of stories" about wide-scale defections and the freeing of large numbers of prisoners, etc.

He called Castro's decision to lock up foreign correspondents at the outbreak of the invasion "extremely wise." He contended this prevented more "dreamed up" stories of uprisings against Castro.

ON THE MATTER of Communism, Mr. Worthy said he feels the bearded Cuban leader turned to Russia when the United States attempted to topple him economically.

"If he had come to the United States and made his peace with the big companies, he would have been a hero," Mr. Worthy said. However, he said the Cuban people cherish their freedom and are not about to swap one outside master for another.

**Mr. Worthy praised Castro as having done a "masterful educational job on his people in his radio and television appearances."**

He said many Cubans who came to the United States and desire to return are being detained here. He also noted that most of the people who came out of Cuba are professionals, managerial and sales field people.

He said the Cuban leader has broken the back of racial discrimination in Cuba by linking it to the old regime and calling it anti-Revolutionary.

# Agents Grill Worthy

The Baltimore Afro-American

By WILLIAM WORTHY
AFRO Foreign Correspondent
P 1 (Via Cable)

ABOARD S. S. GUADALUPE— Since last January's break in diplomatic relations and the United States' travel ban to Cuba, this Spanish ship which travels from Spain to New York via Vera Cruez, Mexico, is the sole remaining sea link with the land of Castro. 7-29-61

As such its departure southward is closely scrutinized by the FBI and CIA.

On Friday night as we set sail were a reported 315 Cubans voluntarily surrending their permanent United States residence visas and returning home with transparent joy.

* * *

SOME HAVE LOST their jobs because of their pro-Castro sympathies. Others have wearied of repetitive grilling by FBI agents and of illegal searches of their apartments as well as of physical attacks by counter "heavy boys" on the CIA payroll.

Without a single word spoken, Immigration Service cleared me for boarding the ship at New York.

Dinner was being served on board while longshoremen were still loading baggage. Under the gaze of Franco of Spain in a picture on the wall, I was waiting the soup course when a shirt sleeved American came to my table and asked me to come with him.

* * *

"WHO ARE YOU? I asked.

He flashed an identification card bearing the name of Custom Agent Matthew Murphy.

He and four other federal men first searched my cabin, my hand baggage and later my checked baggage still on their pier.

All the while they asked personal questions and even read wholly personal papers in my brief case.

"Have you spoken for the Liberation Committee for Africa?"

"Yes", I replied.

"Do you belong to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee?"

"Where is your passport for Mexico?"

* * *

THEY KNEW MEXICO doesn't require a passport. I started to reply that a newly independent African government has offered me a diplomatic passport which would enable me to gather news freely anywhere in the world.

My acceptance of the offer would have caused Washington worldwide embarrassment in its "free world" propaganda.

Western American

From the tenor of the irrevalent and improper questions that were asked, it was clear to me that we are reverting to the McCarthy era when FBI men routinely asked white Americans: "Does your neighbor entertain colored guests in his home?"

Nat. 7-29-61

Apparently the baggage search was to ascertain if I was carrying books to the knowledge-seeking Cubans. Our export embargo excepts only food and medicines.

* * *

SOME PASSENGER should carry a shipment of Bibles and put Washington in the untenable position of banning the shipment of the Good Book to a small island with an overwhelmingly Catholic population.

When the federal agents referred knowledgeably to my 1957 "unauthorized" China trip they were obviously seeking to determine subjectively whether I intended to crash through Washington's information iron curtain around Cuba.

I showed them my three-dollar tourist card from the Mexican consulate in New York and my ticket, which reads New York to Vera Cruz, and mentioned my hotel reservations in Mexico City.

* * *

I HAVE no Cuban visa and have not — repeat NOT — applied for one.

While standing in line on the Brooklyn pier, I spoke with a young man of Cuban parentage who happened to have been born in Florida, but was raised in Cuba.

He had come forlornly to say bon voyage to his four Cuban-born brothers. He, too, wants to go back home to Cuba. But he cannot join his family there because of his accidental United States citizenship. Cuba would welcome him.

The cold warriors in Washington won't let him go. In his psychopathic heyday, Joseph Stalin also won universal condemnation for cruelly keeping families and loved ones divided across frontiers.



AFRO'S NEW PRESIDENT John H. Murphy 3rd, left, shown with Dr. Carl Murphy, who relinquished president's chair at the AFRO last week after 39 years. Dr. Murphy was named chairman of the Board of Directors. (A

# Dr. Murphy steps down at AFRO

BALTIMORE

The 44 - year - old new president of the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspapers, John H. Murphy, III, took office Friday with a prayer — "to love mercy, do justly and walk humbly with God."

He said: "When you are faced with a problem of this magnitude, you pray to God."

Young Murphy is a grandson of the founder of the newspaper which is the world's largest newspaper chain owned and operated by members of his race.

His father was Daniel Murphy, composing room foreman, who died in 1922

The youthful Mr. Murphy, succeeds Dr. Carl Murphy, who headed the firm 39 years and retired officially from active duty as president on Friday to become chairman of the board of directors. He remains a trustee and the publisher.

* * *

**D. ARNETT MURPHY,** who has held posts of vice president, secretary or treasurer for 46 years, also retired.

He will, however, continue as a member of the board, its executive committee and advertising director.

Succeeding him as vice president - treasurer, is Mrs. Elizabeth M. Phillips, formerly executive assistant to the president, who has served the AFRO 23 years as reporter, war correspondent and city editor.

Mrs. Mae M. Dyson, new AFRO secretary, is head of the Advertising Dispatch Department. She came to the AFRO in 1935 as a reporter.

Hailed as a member of the new team of young officials. Mrs. Dyson also received a ruby and diamond studded pin for 25 years service.

* * *

**THE NEW OFFICIALS** and John J. Oliver, production manager and board member, were also elected new members of the executive committee.

The occasion marked the new president's first appearance in office.

The event came at the 54th annual stockholders' meeting at which time 22 employees received citations for a total of 350 years service. Awards were gold, diamond and ruby studded pins and engraved Hamilton gold watches.

Present were Mr. Murphy III's wife, Mrs. Alice Murphy; his mother, Mrs. Sara M. Neely, Philadelphia; his son, Daniel Howard Murphy, II; company officials, board members, the awards recipients and members of their families.

A standing ovation and applause greeted the new chief executive as Dr. Carl Murphy announced his election to the post by unanimous decision of the board of directors.

**AS ONE OF** the young president's first duties, he, together with Mrs. Phillips and Mrs. Dyson, presented the retiring officials with first editions of the New Bible.

A resolution, read by Mrs. Phillips, charged the retiring executives to "spend time in the garden and on the golf course and get out to see the beauty of the sky before the sun goes down."

The resolution also cited them for combined "90 years of dedicated service, hard work, sacrifice."

As a highlight of the program, they received individual page - one replicas of the AFRO with the special story heralding their retirment in headlines.

* * *

**AS MR. MURPHY, III,** made his maiden speech, he cited the retiring president for his leadership which enabled the organization to grow "from a helpless infant to a strapping man with flexed muscles, waiting to grow even stronger in stature."

He stated that Dr. Murphy's guidance has also enabled the AFRO "to impregnate its image not only on the colored people of America but to make this institution a symbol of the moral revolution that has spread across the entire world, from New Orleans to the Congo."

The new chief executive also gave credit to his mother's early training "which prepared me for this job today" and to his wife, "who encouraged me, stood by me."

Reviewing the early years of his employment as a business manager, he recalled the aid and advice received from Howad H. Murphy, present business manager.

Concluding, he said: "My preparedness also stems from the sincere cooperation that every employee has given me during my 24 years of employment."

* * *

**DURING THE MEETING,** Dr. Carl Murphy read his annual report for the 39th time.

**He noted the steady growth of the company since the 1922 death of the founder, John H. Murphy Sr., and when annual earnings were just $65,000 to the point where today it is in excess of a million and a half dollars.**

Stating that "the time is approaching when work must be passed on to younger shoulders," Dr. Murphy announced the new officers, and said he and the other senior directors have confidence that the next generation will advance the AFRO beyond anything we older people have ever dreamed."

* * *

**SPECIAL NOTICE** was taken of the presence of John H. Murphy Jr., 80, only survivor of the original incorporators of the AFRO-AMERICAN Co., and after 54 years still active as a member of the Board of Directors and assistant to the president.

Also noted was the presence of D. Arnett Murphy, vice president, member of the Board of Directors and director of advertising with a record of 51 years continuous service.

**Mrs. Edna Rawlings, cashier and senior employee, with a record of 44 years continuous service, also received a citation. She has been a stockholder for 36 years.**

Stockholders passed a resolution honoring the late Grace Hughes Murphy, stockholder and widow of Dr. George B. Murphy Sr., another original incorporator Mrs. Murphy died July 4 1960.

**Awards went to:**

Mrs. Viola Warf — 30 years.
Mrs. Rebecca McMaster —3( years.
J. Nelson Fortune—25 years
Elson W. Higgenbotham—2( years.
Mrs. Mae M. Dyson — 2( years.
Medford Reynolds—25 years.
William A. Lewis—25 years.
Paul D. Morton—20 years.
Mrs. Ida M. Smith—20 years.
Mrs. Alice T. Carroll — 15 years.
Mrs. Esther Yancey — 15 years.
Cliff W. Mackay—15 years.
Ellis T. Robinson—15 years.
George W. Collins—10 years.
Jacob Terrell—10 years.
Joseph H. Ligon—10 years.
Arthur Creigler—10 years.
Edward Pecks—5 years.
Jack L. Hodge—5 years.
Celester Thompson—5 years.
Thomas A. Stockett—5 years.
Ellihu Q. Norris—5 years.

# THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

***For 94 Years The South's Standard Newspaper***

The Atlanta Constitution

***RALPH McGILL, Publisher*** ***EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor***

Dec. 12 4-61
P. 4

**Established June 16, 1868**

Issued daily except New Year's, July 4, Labor Day, Thanksgiving and Christmas. Second-class postage paid at Atlanta, Georgia.

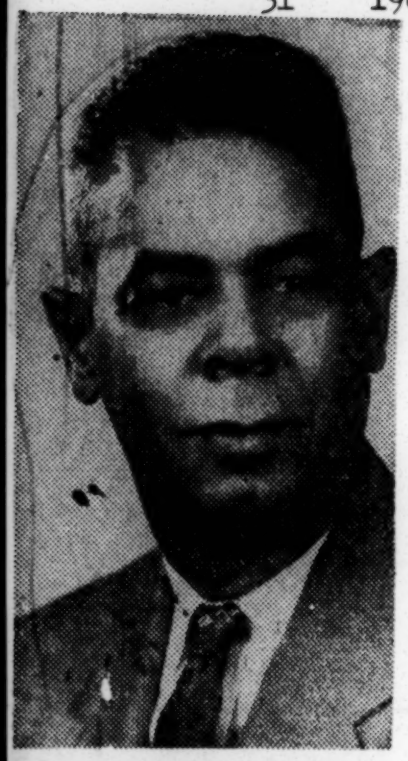
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31 1961

COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY BUSINESS
MAGAZINE

MR. HAROLD K. LOGAN
NAMED TO THE EDITORIAL ADVISORY
BOARD



## *Magazine Advisor*

**Harold K. Logan, business manager at Tuskegee Institute, has been named to the editorial advisory board of College and University Business, a monthly publication of the Modern Hospital Publishing Co., a subsidiary of the F. W. Dodge Corporation. The magazine is published in Chicago. Mr. Logan, who has been business manager at Tuskegee since 1952, will be the magazine's special consultant on personnel and office management.**

# Ad agency merger effective Sept. 1

CHICAGO — The formation of Consolidated Publishers Inc., which will represent 150 newspapers with a combined circulation of over 1,000,000 in principal cities, from coast to coast, was announced in Chicago Sunday.

The new organization grew out of a merger of three publishers represenatives — Associated Publishers Inc., Inter - State United Newspaper, Inc., and Defender publication — according to John H. Sengstacke, founder and president of National Newspaper Publishers association and publisher of Chicago Daily Defender.

Representatives of leading newspapers attended a meeting Aug. 19-18 at the offices of the Chicago Daily Defender to work out details of the merger.

**ORGANIZATION** of Consolidated Publishers, Inc., was the culmination of two years of negotiations which began when Sengstacke was authorized by NNPA to plan the merger. Consolidated Publishers will maintain principal offices in NYC, with branch offices in Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles.

The new agency officially begins operations Sept. 1.

Elected to the board of directors, in addition to Sengstacke, were:

Thomas W. Young, president, Norfolk Va., journal and Guide; Dr. C. B. Powell, publisher, New York Amsterdam News; S. B. Fuller, publisher, Pittsburg Courier; Howard H. Murphy, business mnager, AFRO - AMERICAN newspapers; Mrs. Nannie Mitchell Turner, president, St. Louis Argus, and E. Washington Rhodes, publisher, Philadelphia Tribune.

**Elected as officers of the corporation were Dr. Powell, president, Mr. Sengstacke,**



**OFFICERS** of the newly formed Consolidated Publishers, Inc., publishers representatives, which will serve all major colored newspapers in the United States, are shown at organization meeting held recently in Chicago. Left to right: Mrs. Nannie Mitchell Turner, president, St. Louis Argus, a director; John H. Sengstacke, publisher, Chicago Daily Defender and vice president of the corporation; Howard Murphy, business manager, AFRO-AMERICAN, treasurer of Consolidated; C. B. Powell, seated, publisher, New York Amsterdam News, president of the organization; E. Washington Rhodes, publisher, Philadelphia Tribune, a director and Thomas W. Young, president, Norfolk Journal and Guide, who is secretary. Mr. Sengstacke was host for the meeting.

...e president; Mr. Young, secretary, and Mr. Murphy, treasurer.

**COMMENTING** on the new organization. Dr. Powell said:

"With the merger of the three publishers representatives and the formation of Consolidated Publishers, Inc., the national advertiser can now reach with one advertising order over 1,000,000 households in the principal markets throughout the country with local impact."

He added that "the new advertising organization will also offer the national advertiser more circulation and readership than any other media devoted to the colored American market in the country."

The current billing for member newspapers is over $7 million a year.

# Publishers' Ad Combine To Reach Million Readers

**Formation of Consolidated Publishers, Inc., publishers representatives which will represent 150 Negro newspapers, with a combined circulation of over one million in principal cities from coast to coast has been announced in Chicago.**

The new organization grew out of the merger of three ad-vertising representatives including Associated Publishers Inc., Interstate United Newspapers, Inc., and Defender Publications, according to John H. Sengstacke, founder and president of the National Negro Newspaper Publishers Association and publisher of the Chicago Daily Defender.

Representatives of leading Negro newspapers attended a meeting Friday and Saturday Aug. 18 and 19 at the offices of the Chicago Daily Defender to work out details of the merger.

**2 YEARS OF WORK**

Organization of Consolidated Publishers was the culmination of two-years of negotiations which began when Sengstacke was authorized by NNPA to plan the merger.

Consolidated Publishers will maintain principle offices in New York City, while branch offices will be located in Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles The new agency officially begins operations on Sept. 1 1961.

Elected to the board of directors of the new group in addition to Sengstacke were:

Thomas W. Young, president, Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide; Dr. C. B. Powell, publisher, New York Amsterdam News; S. B. Fuller, pubisher Pittsburgh Courier; Howard H. Murphy, business manager, Afro-American Newpapers, Baltimore; Mrs. Nannie Mitchell Turner, president, St. Louis Agus; E. Washington Rhodes, publisher, Philadelphia Tribune.

Elected officers of the new corporation were C. B. Powell, president; John H. Sengstacke,

**NEW ERA**

Sengstacke praised the publishers for their action in effecting the merger and predicted that the move would "usher in a new era for Negro newspapers in this country."

In commenting on the new organization Powell said, "with the consolidation of the three publishers representatives and the formation of Consolidated Publishers, Inc., a national advertiser can now reach with one advertisng order over one million Negro householders in principals cities throughout the nation with local impact."

Powell added that the new organization woud now provide the advertisng client more paid circulation and pass on more readership than any other print media covering the national Negro market.

The combined billing of member newspapers is in excess of 7 milion dollars a year

# 134 Years of Progress Since Its Founding

One hundred and thirty-four years ago, the first Negro newspaper appeared in the United States.

In the year 1827, a group of Negro leaders in New York City met to discuss the problems of the race and resolved to publish a weekly journal to espouse the cause of freedom and the citizenship status of the free Negroes.

**Freedom's Journal**

Thus on March 16, 1827, John Russwurm, a free Negro, published the first issue of "Freedom's Journal," in New York City, the first Negro American newspaper. Associated with Mr. Russwurm was the Reverend Samuel Cornish, also of New York.

These two pioneers of Negro journalism dedicated themselves to the cause of their oppressed brothers in the South and to the advancement of the Negroes who had escaped to the North.

**Brief Career**

According to historians, Mr. Russwurm's career in journalism was brief and he was captured by the Colonization Society and sent to Africa. His newspaper was suspended, but other Negro editors sprang up and began publishing newspapers to light the path of freedom.

The names of early Negro newspapers indicate the purposes to which they were dedicated. In addition to **Freedom's Journal**, there were such designations as **Rights of All, Mirror of Liberty, Elevator, Clarion, Genius of Freedom** and **North Star.**

**200 Publications**

Today ehere are upward of 200 Negro publications in the United States. These publications have a total per issue circulation of approximately two million copies, which are read by an estimated nine million members of the race.

*Every movement for the advancement of Negroes, including the abolition of slavery, has been championed through Negro newspapers.

*Negro newspapers employ thousands of trained workers in the United States.

*Thousands of jobs in fields considered closed to Negroes have been opened to the youth of the race, through the incessant fighting of the Negro Press.

*The mechanical and editorial standards of leading Negro newspapers are steiadily improving.

*The total value of printing eguipment and buildings owned by Negro newspapers in the United States is conservatively estimated at not less than 15 million dollars.

*The Negro newspaper remains a vehicle for the unbiased dissemination of news for and about Negroes of the United States.

**Popular Medium**

Although various advertising media have sprung up over the nation in competition for newspaper advertising, the Negro newspaper still remains the most popular and effective medium for reaching the Negro buying public.

This is because the Negro people still look to their own newspapers to champion the interests of thei race at all times, as they could not always expect such protection to be rendered by others.

The Negro owns and operates his own newspapers and they appeal to him in a pecular way that no other publication or advertising media can.

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MAGAZINES (GENERAL)

Globe Reader Service Sued

The Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sept. 9-61

# Mag Subscription Racket Probe Set

LOS ANGELES (ANP)—A Federal probe loomed here in connection with the practices of an alleged $300,000-a-year magazine subscription racket which lists among its "victims" the names of two Negro publications.

Deposed out-of-state student door-to-door salesmen sought a Federal investigation into the alleged swindle later filed a civil suit seeking $45,000 damages against the Globe Reader Service.

The Federal investigation may be expected to sift the operating methods of the scheme which has been accused of bilking hundreds of unwary subscribers out of thousands of dollars weekly. Police said the syndicate is centered in Los Angeles and large Southern cities.

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**ALSO NAMED** with Globe in the complaint, filed by Atty. Thomas G. Neusom, was the service's president, W. E. Bruebaker, and company officials, Robert Gilmore and Lou Llera. Globe has headquarters in Michigan City, Ind., while Gilmore and Llera maintain offices here.

The suit resulted when nine student subscription writers were fired by Gilmore, who heads local operations of the service, and left stranded without money or transportation to their respective homes, investigators have charged.

Plaintiffs listed in the complaint were Barbara Gray of La Plata, Md.; David King of Baton Rouge, La.; Renee Sator of Washington, D. C.; Jeanette Callander of New Orleans, La.; Timothy Eugene Goff of Baton Rouge, La.; Theressa Thompson of Alexandria, La.; Amy Lee Orr of Philadelphia, Pa.; Alfredo Walker of New Orleans, La., and Louis Murphy of Chattanooga, Tenn.

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# Libel Suit Threatened By Attorney

William Higgs, Jackson attorney, will file a libel suit against publishers of The Jackson Clarion-Ledger and The Daily News.

Higgs claims the combined Sunday edition of the two papers linked his suit against the State Sovereignty Commission and the Citizens Council with the NAACP. Higgs told newsmen the NAACP had nothing to do with his suit.

He and Robert L. T. Smith, Jr., Jackson Negro grocer, are plaintiffs in a suit against the state seeking to halt the monthly payment of $5,000 in public funds by the State Sovereignty Commission to the Citizens Councils for advertising purposes.

The Sunday edition quoted a letter from state NAACP president Aaron Henry of Clarksdale in which Henry said the lawsuit against the Sovereignty Commission would "cost us heavily."

The plaintiffs say the tax money is being used to encourage violence to prevent the elimination of racial discrimination.

Higgs and Smith contend they undertook the litigation as taxpayers to keep their money from being turned over to a private organization.

The Sunday newspaper story said that, according to a letter signed by state NAACP president Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, the NAACP was behind Higgs' suit. The newspaper said the NAACP solicited funds from Negro churches to support litigation in Mississippi.

Higgs said he was "shocked to read the malicious and libelous story in the paper.

# ATLANTA'S MAYOR WARNS RACISTS HEADS WILL BE "KNOCKED TOGETHER!"

Find out—in the new issue of LOOK Magazine—how Mayor Hartsfield and his loyal police chief are handling the segregation crisis in Atlanta, Georgia! Don't miss LOOK's explosive, 15-page report on THE SECOND BATTLE OF ATLANTA! Read the facts about

- **SIT-INS, JAIL-INS, KNEEL-INS**
- **G. U. T. S. (GEORGIANS UNWILLING TO SURRENDER)**
- **"THE PROPHET," DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.**

**TODAY... GET LOOK**

## M. L. King Subject Of News Magazine

Atlanta, Georgia — Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is featured in the current ssue of LOOK Magazine (circulation 6,500,000) in an article describing the 'Two Battles of Atlanta'.

George Leonard, staff writer for LOOK asserts in his article that the role of Atlanta is stragic in the future of ". . . . . Georgia, the South, and the U. S. A.".

Mr. Leonard continues in the article that, "Martin Luther iKng, Jr., moved from Montgomery, Ala., to Atlanta" . . . primarily to make this key city the headquarters for his antisegregation organization. . . .". Dr. King clearly foresaw Atlanta's importance, both as a communications base and as a decisive battleground in the struggle for Negro rights."

LOOK describes Dr. King as the 'Prophet' "who has become the national symbol of the philsophy and practice of love and nonviolence in racial matters."

The impact of Dr. King's nonviolent preachments in addition to the student movement of 1960 that coninues still reflects itself in his aricle and a similar story on Atlanta in the May issue of HOLIDAY Magazine. SCLC's president remains one of the most sought and heralded speakers in the nation.

## Times Editor To Hold Interview With Miss Hunter

Norman Isaacs, managing editor of the white Louisville Times newspaper, said Wednesday he has arranged an interview with Charlayne Hunter, first Negro woman to attend the University of Georgia, for consideration for one of three summer journalism intern positions.

The Times selects promising young journaalists for employment during their summer vacation periods in a training program which the afternoon newspaper has operated for several years.

Persons selected for the training program cover regular news assignments as members of the news staff.

Miss Hunter, 18, attended Wayne University, Detrit, before being accepted at the University of Georgia. She has excellent grades in journalism, Isaacs said.

Isaacs further stated that no Negro has been named for the training program in past years. There is no Negro on the present staff of the Louisville Times.

## Louisville Times Adds Negro To News Staff

The Louisville Times yesterday hired the first Negro to be employed on its news staff. She is Charlayne A. Hunter, who was one of the first Negroes to attend the University of Georgia.

She was selected by managing editor Norman E. Isaacs for one of three Times summertime journalism intern positions.

Miss Hunter, 19, is a resident of Atlanta and is a sophomore at Georgia, where she is studying journalism.

# Tell It To Old Grandma

Montgomery Advertiser 8-7-A

*Your name and address must be given on letter ★ But upon request, name will often be withheld at the Editor's discretion ★ We reserve the right to shorten letter, ★ No Poetry please ★ Repeat: No letter will be printed unless Editor knows who wrote it.*

Share 10-26-61

## Inviting Federal Control Of Education

EDITOR, THE ADVERTISER—Help! Help! the schools need money: at a time that people are making more money than at any time in their lives; at a time that we are able to have a car for everyone in the family; at a time when pupils ignore the school bus and ride to school in their own cars; at a time when people spend $150 or $200 for tobacco; at a time when many can buy a new car each year; at a time that we can spend for parties, picnics and pleasure trips when we take a notion; at a time when we make gifts, donations, and pay dues to everything that comes along; when we buy everything we, and our children want; at a time when the state legislature can use up $1,000,000 worth of time and do nothing; at a time when a governor can dish out thousands of dollars to his political appointees when they are wealthy enough to donate the time that they spare from their businesses; at a time when the state can build an $80,000 mansion for a political-minded school teacher—we have no money for schools.

The federal government wants to get control of the schools, and we have given them the opportunity to do so. If and when they do get charge, they will collect $3 and give back $1 for the schools.

Remember, the Caesars did not take over until the Roman Senate failed to operate. Who cannot see the signs of the times?

Wetumpka, Ala. J. A. FORTNER.

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### Local Delegation Commended

Editor, The Advertiser:

Please allow me space in your columns to express publicly the thanks of the Alabama Tuberculosis Association for the warm support of its legislative program given so freely and generously by your legislative delegation, Senator Vaughan Hill Robison and Reps. O. J. Goodwyn, George F. Bailey, J. J. Pierce and Alfred W. Goldthwaite.

Passage of the recalcitrant patient bill, giving authority under proper safeguards for the compulsory isolation of active cases of tuberculosis who endanger the public health, was a great step forward. The provision of funds to buy anti-tuberculosis drugs for non-hospitalized patients, and the granting of some flexibility at the discretion of the state health officer in the per-diem payments to our state's tuberculosis hospitals, were both vitally needed measures.

Members of your delegation were most cooperative, and always received those of us who were concerned with tuberculosis legislation with friendly courtesy and attention.

We hope many of your readers who know these gentlemen personally will take opportunity to commend them for their help in solving some of the many problems blocking further advances in the control of tuberculosis in Alabama.

JACK C. GALLALEE.
Chairman, Legislative Committee, Alabama Tuberculosis Association.
Mobile, Ala.

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### Our Loss

Editor, The Advertiser:

I heard over the radio and read a few articles in the paper that the Almighty Martin Luther King, the Savior, the Great Liberator, the Movie Man, spent an hour the other day with the man that he helped elect president last November.

How did the President keep "Ole" Martin out of Washington for nearly a year? Perhaps the Supreme Court was going his way and he didn't need any special help from the President. It was reported that he asked the President to proclaim a second "Emancipation Proclamation."

I, too, should like to go to Washington and ask the President to proclaim a special day for *all* the people of the United States, not for just one so-called minority group. It would cost me too much to go; so, I am asking the President in writing to proclaim a special day for the other 160,000,000 underprivileged group.

Oh, nearly forgot! This is a special welcome to Atlanta for the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy of Montgomery. I am sorry that you are losing one of your great leaders, but as the old saying goes: One city's loss is another city's gain!

FRED A. RHENEY.
1154 Westmont Rd., S.W., Atlanta 11, Ga.

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### Johnson School Problems

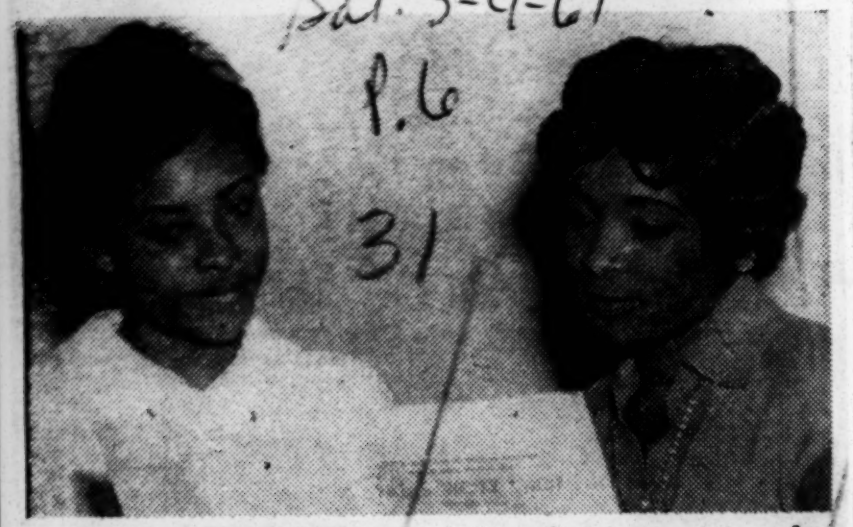
I wish to refer to the article written in Sunday night's and Saturday morning's papers on the subject of the called P-TO meeting at Johnson School.

You neglected stressing that the *main* problem was overloading of buses; in fact, it was not even mentioned in one of the articles. Also, people were listed as belonging to the safety committee whose names were not included in the petition, nor were they appointed at the meeting. I suggest you look into this matter.

We are not a number of empty-headed, hysterical mothers, but parents distressed by the hazards of overloaded buses and by the need for discipline on the buses. Children of such varied ages and in such large numbers need adult supervision. We hope a practical solution may be found, and that above all, these problems will not be ignored or deemed insoluble.

MRS. RICHARD A. BARNES.
Montgomery.

# Fla. A&M Hosts Interscholastic Press Workshop



**PLANNING WORKSHOP**—Donna May (left), Key West, feature editor, and Mrs. Freddie Groomes, Jacksonville, associate editor, of the Famuan discuss plans for the coming Florida A&M University's 11th annual Interscholasitc Press Workshop, March 2-4

TALLAHASSEE—An address by the founder and the founder and the 1961 director of National Negro Newspaper Week will highlight the 11th annual Florida A&M University Interscholastic Press Workshop scheduled for March 2-4.

Moss H. Kendrix, Washington, D. C., public relations counselor, who as a student at Morehouse College was one of the founders of Delta Phi Delta National Negro Honorary Journalism Society and who also sparked the initial observance of National Negro Newspaper Week, will deliver the awards dinner address Saturday, March 4.



Mr. Kendrix

The 1961 National Negro Newspaper Week observance will be held March 19-25, under the auspices of the National Newspaper Publishers Association.

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**AN ESTIMATED** 125 high school journalists from Florida, Georgia and Alabama are expected to be in attendance at the workshop which has developed into one of the outstanding high school press confabs in the nation.

**● Among the persons who will serve as consultants are: Dr. Reid Montgomery, director of student activities at Florida State University, Tallahassee; Cliff Mackay, editor, Afro-American Newspapers, Baltimore; Harold Keith, managing editor, The Pittsburgh Courier, Pittsburgh; Lin Holloway, city editor, the Journal and Guide, Norfolk; Francis H. Mitchell, associate editor, Jet and Ebony magazines, Chicago; William Fowlkes, managing editor, the Atlanta Daily World, Atlanta; Lee Blackwell, managing editor, the Chicago Daily Defender, and William G. Snell, sales representative, S. K. Smith Company, Chicago.**

**The press workshop will get under way Thursday, March 2, at 9 A. M.**

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**THE PARTICIPANTS** and consultants will be welcomed to the campus by university President George W. Gore Jr., and William Larkins, president of the Student Government Association.

Dr. Gore, who earned the bachelor's degree in journalism from DePauw University, has taught at one time or another many of the nation's leading journalists.

This includes Carl Rowan, who was recently appointed deputy assistant secretary of state; Ted Poston, New York Post reporter; Nat Williams, Memphis journalist, and Fowlkes.

Charles H. Smith III, university director of public relations, is serving as director of the workshop, assisted by David C. Collington, assistant director of public relations; Meriel Collins, editor of the '61 Rattler yearbook, and Alexander Brown, editor of the FAMUAN student newspaper.

# EDITORIALS

## Negro Press Week

This week we are celebrating the 134th anniversary of the founding of the first Negro-owned newspaper, Freedom's Journal, by Rev. Samuel Cornish, with John B. Russwurm, the first Negro college graduate (Bowdoin) as editor.

The purpose of National Negro Newspaper Week is to focus attention on this fact and to highlight the continuing importance of the Negro newspapers as the eyes, and tongue of nearly 20,000,000 Americans.

If there were no Negro newspapers, they would have to be established because otherwise 20,000,000 Negroes would have no voice upon which they could depend.

Samuel Cornish and John B. Russwurm soon split over the controversy then wracking free Negro America over the issue of whether Negroes should stay here and fight for freedom on the soil they had fertilized with 250 years of their blood, sweat and tears, or whether they should seek a haven in Africa or the Antilles.

Russwurm was for emigration; Rev. Cornish was for integration; and it is one of the ironies of history that Russwurm is better known than Cornish, although the latter, 134 years ago, was more in tune with the thinking of Negroes, then and now, than was his editor.

The fact remains that there could have been no discussion of this and other questions affecting U. S. Negroes, if the Negro newspapers had not provided a forum, as they have continued to do for 134 years.

He who does not read the Negro newspapers cannot know what the group is thinking and doing over this broad land; and he who would reach the Negro masses, must reach them through this medium, or not at all.

# Negro Press In 134th Anniversary

By Milton Scott
Associated Negro Press Feature

The Negro press will mark its 134th year with the annual observance of National Negro Newspaper Week March 19-25. The Negro press has played a unique role in the struggle for freedom, equality and justice not only in the United States but throughout the world.

It is significant that the first Negro newspaper started by John B. Russwurm in New York on March 16, 1827, was called Freedom's Journal. From that day until now the Negro press has provided leadership, encouragement and support to the struggle for the complete emancipation of the Negro everywhere in the world.

The Negro press was born amid the struggle of Negroes in America to gain freedom, and it has been in the frontline of that struggle ever since to make that freedom complete.

Russwurm sought to publicize the efforts of the free Negro in the North in the interest of his enslaved brothers in the South. Freedom's Journal gave full support to the abolitionist movement, just as the Negro press today is supporting the continuing struggle against segregation, discrimination and inequality.

The Negro press has been on the battlefront since March 16, 1827. It is not merely a carrier of news but the fair and dependable interpreter of news. Often the Negro press has to set the record right or publish the facts that often otherwise would not be published.

# March 16 Set For Tribute To Founding Of Journal

CHICAGO, Ill.—The National Newspaper Publishers Association has announced that the week of March 19-25 will be observed as National Negro Newspaper Week, while special observances will be promoted March 16 in tribute to the founding of the first Negro newspaper, Freedom's Journal, which appeared in New York City on March 16, 1827.

Theme of the week-long celebration will be on the "Role of the American Minority Press in a World of Unrest."

Major national organizations and leading institutions are expected to join in the tribute to the Negro press.

John H. Sengstacke, NNPA president and head of the Chicago (Ill.) Daily Defender and the Defender Publications, Inc., this week called upon all organizations, institutions and individuals interested in the "furtherance of the democratic ideal to join with the nation's Negro press in observing its 134th anniversary."

Freedom's Journal was founded by John Russwurm and the Rev. Samuel Cornish. The Atlanta Daily World, founded by the late W. A. Scott II and which has as its present editor-Publisher, C. A. Scott, will join in the celebration of Negro Newspaper Week.

Negro Newspaper Week was founded by Moss H. Kendrix, Sr., while a student at Morehouse College. It has been observed annually since as a feature of the National Newspapers Publishers Association.

Mr. Sengstacke, Frank L. Stanley, editor-publisher, The Louisville (Ky.) Defender, Thomas W. Young, president, The Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide, and Mr. Kendrix have joined in the promotion of Negro Newspaper Week, as a project of the NNPA Public Affairs Committee.

"Through the ages," noted Mr. Sengstacke, "Negro newspapers have stood willingly and actively ready to serve the needs of this great democratic nation. In both of the World Wars, the Negro element of the American Fourth Estate gave every reassurance of its complete and unselfish devotion to the American way of life. Today this devotion to the national cause is no less articulate, while the Negro press must likewise serve its traditional purpose and immediate needs of its environment."

The names of early Negro newspapers indicated the purpose to which they were dedicated. In addition to "Freedom's Journal," there were such designations as "Rights of All," "Mirror of Liberty," Elevator," "Clarion" and "Genius of Freedom."

It is quite appropriate, notes Mr. Stanley, "that in turbulent times like these the NNPA would suggest to the Negro press that it reexamine the role of a minority press."

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NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION

CONTRIBUTES $1,000 FOR EXPELLED SIT-INNERS AT BOWDOIN

# NNPA Contributes $1,000 For Expelled Sit-Inners At Bowdoin

WASHINGTON — Members of the National newspapers Publishers Association have contributed $1000 0to a scholarship fund set up to bring to Bowdoin College Negro students who have been expelled from a southern college because of their sit-in-activities.

The scholarship fund is named in honor of John B. Russwurm, the first Negro publisher and one of the first Negroes to graduate from an American college. Russwurm received his diploma from Bowdoin College, in Brunswick, Maine, in 1826.

In 1960, Bowdoin undergraduates established the Russwurm Scholarship Fund by initiating and successfully raising a fund of $2000 from Bowdoin undergraduates, faculty and residents of Brunswick. College officials agreed to guarantee the continuation of a Russwurm scholarship if the student does well academically in the first year at the school.

Longworth M. Quinn, general manager of the Michigan Chronicle in Detroit and secretary of the NNPA said the publishers made individual contributions to the fund. The donation already has been presented to Dr Leon A. Dickson of Detroit, who is a graduate of Bowdoin.

## NNPA gives $1,000 scholarship to Bowdoin

DETROIT — Members of the National Newspapers Publishers Association have contributed $1,000 to a scholarship fund set up to bring to Bowdoin College colored students who have been expelled from a southern college because of their sit-in-activities.

The scholarship fund is named in honor of John B. Russwurm, the first colored publisher and one of the first colored persons to graduate from an American college. Russwurm received his diploma from Bowdoin College, in Brunswick, Maine, in 1826.

IN 1960, Bowdoin undergraduates established the Russwurm Scholarship Fund by initiating and successfuly raising a fund of $2,000 from Bowdoin undergraduates, faculty, and residents of Brunswick. College officials agreed to guarantee the continuation of a Russwurm scholarship if the student does well academically in the first year at the school.

Longworth M. Quinn, general manager of the Michigan Chronicle in Detroit and secretary of the NNPA said the publishers made individual contributions to the fund. The donation already has been presented to Dr. Leon A. Dickson, of Detroit, who is a graduate of Bowdoin.

Dickson said he had previously talked to Quinn about the work of the committee and other possible ways of improving to some extent relations between the races, especially in the South.

DR. DICKSON added, "It is my feeling that, although the cintinuation of a colored student's education at Bowdoin would be a fine and noble gesture, the education of a white southern student at Bowdoin might well, in the years to come, do much to improve interracial relations, because of the effects of the liberal New England and Bowdoin attitudes upon such a student who might otherwise never be exposed to a truly liberal environment."

A few weeks later, Quinn attended the annual convention of the National Newspapers Publishers Association in Chicago, where he introduced a resolution that the Russwurm Scholarship Committee be requested to explore the possibility of extending its aid toward helping to bring white southern students to Bowdoin for study. The resolution was unanimously approved by the convention.

* * *

BOWDOIN COLLEGE is one of the top ten small schools in the country. It was established in 1794 and the first colored persons to receive a college degree and a medical degree were graduates of Bowdoin.

Harriett Beecher Stowe wrote her powerful novel, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" while on the Bowdoin campus, where her husband was a professor.

A famous artic explorer, the late Mat Henson, who was a member of Admiral Peary's polar expedition, was also a Bowdoin graduate. So was Perry and General Otis Howard, founder of Howard University.



NNPA SCHOLARSHIP — President John H. Sengstacke of the National Newspaper Publishers Association and publisher of The Chicago Daily Defender, presents a $1,000 check to Dr. Leon Dickson of Detroit to set up a John B. Russwurm Scholarship at Bowdoin College. Dr. Dickson is a graduate of Bowdoin.

# NNPA Selects 10 Top Stories Of Year 1960

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — The National Newspaper Publishers association has selected as 10 top stores of 1960 the following:

1. The election of Senator John F. Kennedy as President of the United States, achieved through the heavy vote of colored voters for the Democratic ticket, seven out of 10 voting for Kennedy.

2. The sit-down demonstrations against refusal of service to colored customers at lunch counters in 5-and-10 cent stores, which began in Greensboro, N. C., and spread throughout the South.

3. The attainment of independence by the Belgian Congo, followed by rioting and violence; the secession of Katanga, the richest province in the Congo; efforts of Dr. Ralph J. Bunche to halt the clashes; the sending of United Nations military forces there; the deposing of Premier Patrice Lumumba and the setting up of a military regime by Col. Joseph Kasavubu, and the long debate in the UN General Assembly which ended in a deadlock.

4. The fight between the Federal courts and the state of Louisiana over desegregation of New Orleans public schools.

5. The decision of the Supreme Court that the state of Alabama cannot fix the boundaries of the city of Tuskegee so as to exclude all colored voters from the city limits.

6. Passage by the Congress of the 1960 Civil Rights act providing for federal court-appointed voting referees to oversee the registration and voting of qualified colored citizens in areas where they are denied registration; making it a federal crime for anyone to obstruct any federal court order by force or threat of force, and providing criminal penalties for flight over state lines to avoid prosecution for bombings.

7. The hearing held by th Civil Rights commission in Ne Orleans on the denial of th right to vote to colored citizen in Louisiana through the cor nivance of White Citizens Cour cils, state officials, and loca registrars.

8. The plight of colored per sons in Fayette and Haywoo counties, Tenn., against whon economic reprisals, includin eviction of sharecroppers, denia of credit, and refusal to sel goods and services, because they had sought themselves to reg ister to vote or had encouragec others to do so.

9. The winning of three gold medals in the Olympic games by Miss Wilma Rudolph of Clarksville, Tenn., a Tennessee State college student, who won the 100-meter sprint, the 200-meter event, and ran anchor on the American women's 400-meter relay team which set a world record of 44.4 second, and the winning of the Olympic decathlon by Rafer Johnson.

10. The comeback of Floyd Patterson, who knocked out Ingemar Johansson in the fifth round of their return engagement to regain the world heavyweight boxing championship.

31 1961

NEGRO PRESS

# Educated Negroes Don't Back Press

The Pittsburgh Courier

WASHINGTON, D. C.—"Educated Negroes simply do not support the Negro press," said Dolph Thompson, president of Associated Counselors International, in announcing findings of a recently concluded consumer survey. "Primary readers," he continued, "are among the lower economic groups."

ACI, a Washington public relations firm specializing in interpreting the aims of management to the Negro community, studied consumer habits of a representative sample of 2,700 Negro families living in Washington.

One section of the survey analyzing news media revealed "that not one Negro newspaper or magazine ranks as a major source of news or general information.

Only a small percentage of individuals at any level read Negro newspapers," said Thompson.

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**RESPONSES IN THE** survey indicated that monthly magazines were read equally as often as weekly newspapers for news and general information.

"This illustrates that Negro newspapers," said Thompson, "have not kept abreast of the growing sophistication of Negroes."

"The study also pointed out the need for new techniques for newspapers if their publishers were courageous enough to adopt them," Thompson continued.

In conjunction with analyzing the importance of Negro publications as disseminators of news, the survey also indicated the effectiveness of Negro publications as tools of advertising when used properly as a media for information about economic, social and political progress.

31 1961 NEWSWEEK

# Artist Sues Newsweek For $250,000 In N.Y.

Chicago Defender

Chicago Sun-Times

NEW YORK — Newsweek, nationally circulated weekly magazine, has been named defendant in a $250,000 suit filed in New York Supreme Court by Earl R. Sweeting, well known artist, it was announced last week.

In Sweeting's action, he said, stemmed from publication in the October 31, 1960 issue of the periodical of an article headed "Surprise — If you have no history, invent one." According to the artist's lawyer, Attorney Joseph A. Bailey, there appeared "false and defamatory matter" about Sweeting, "his capacity and profession, as an artist, historian, student of history and depictor of the historical past."

The article deals with a set of post cards, reproduced from original paintings by Sweeting now hanging in the headquarters of the Convention People's Party in Ghana, Africa.

The artist, with his wife, spent two years in Ghana at the invitation of that government, for the purpose of producing the series of 12 paintings, based, he explained, on extensive research into African history, a field in which he has spent a great part of his life.

Implications in the Newsweek article, which was illustrated with reproductions of five of the post cards, that the African nation seemed to be "inventing" a history for itself with little or no regard for facts, are challenged by Sweeting.

He charges in his complaint that publication of such false statements exposed him to scorn, contempt and ridicule and which injured his reputation and earning capacity.

The artist, who now makes his home in Accra, Ghana, returned to the U. S. early this Fall to spend several months on a research mission in connection with exhaustive volume on the history of the black man on which he is currently working.

## Newsweek Is Sold To Washington Post

New York Times

By HARRISON E. SALISBURY

The Washington Post Company bought control of Newsweek magazine yesterday from the Vincent Astor Foundation. The sale ended several weeks of intensive negotiation involving a number of publishing companies.

It was understood that the price paid for the 59 per cent interest in the magazine held by the Astor Foundation was about $8,000,000. However, no official announcement of the price was made. Newsweek's size is second only to Time's in the news magazine field; its circulation on the first of the year was 1,442,836.

The sale was disclosed in a statement by the foundation that said:

"The Washington Post has agreed to offer to purchase from the other stockholders of Newsweek their holdings on the same basis as was given to the foundation."

The Washington Post was represented in the negotiation by its president, Philip L. Graham. The Astor Foundation was represented by Luke B. Lockwood and Allan W. Betts, trustees of the Astor Foundation and long-time associates of the late Vincent Astor.

Mr. Graham said that he would have no comment for the time being about the acquisition of Newsweek. There was no announcement of personnel or policy shifts.

It was understood, however, that Osborn Elliott, now managing editor of Newsweek, would have editorial direction of the magazine. The top editorial post is now held by Malcolm Muir Jr., whose title is executive editor.

The business management of Newsweek was expected to continue under the direction of Gibson McCabe, whose post is president and publisher.

Mr. Astor was the principal owner of Newsweek from 1937 to his death in February, 1959. Rumors began to circulate almost immediately concerning sale of the magazine but they were denied by Mr. Lockwood and Mr. Betts, who said the Astor stock had gone to the foundation and was not for sale.

In recent weeks, however, it became known that the stock was for sale. Among those whose names were mentioned as possible purchasers were Samuel I. Newhouse, whose newspaper and magazine holdings include the Condé Nast Publishing Company; the Cowles interests, publisher of Look; McCall's, which recently bought The Saturday Review; the Ritter newspaper chain; and John Hay Whitney, publisher of The New York Herald Tribune.

In addition, Malcolm Muir, publisher of Newsweek and its principal executive since 1937, sought unsuccessfully to form a syndicate that would take over the Astor Foundation holdings.

It was understood that the remainder of Newsweek's stock includes about 12 per cent held by W. Averell Harriman. Smaller blocks are held by a number of others, including Mr. Muir, his family and some Newsweek associates. The number of outstanding shares was put at 300,000. The asking price is said to have been $45 but the sale was closed at lower figure.

The purchase of Newsweek is Mr. Graham's initial venture into magazines. His association with The Washington Post dates to 1946. The paper has merged in the interim with The Times Herald and is now known by the joint name.

Mr. Graham is 46 years old. The circulation of his paper is now 400,000, more than double what it was when he came into the management.

The board chairman of The Post until his death in July, 1959, was Eugene Meyer, Mr. Graham's father-in-law.

Newsweek was founded as News-Week on Feb. 17, 1933, by Thomas J. C. Martyn. It started with a staff of twenty-two and an initial issue of thirty-two pages.

In the same year a magazine called Today was begun with the backing of Mr. Astor, Mr. Harriman and others. It was edited by Raymond Moley.

### Merged in 1937

In 1937 the publications merged with Mr. Astor in control. The name was changed to Newsweek. Later that year Mr. Muir, who had been head of the McGraw-Hill Publishing Company came in as chief executive.

It was under Mr. Muir's guidance that the magazine began to pick up circulation and finally was put on a profitable basis during World War II.

Along with this there was a rapid expansion of advertising. Last year, according to Publishers Information Service, Newsweek sold $27,165,000 in advertising, compared with $51,144,000 for Time.

It was understood that in 1959 the magazine cleared more than $1,000,000 profit. In 1960 the showing was said to have been not quite so good because of rising costs. Advertising and revenue totals for the initial months of 1961 were described as down somewhat in line with the general trend in the magazine field.

It was not known whether Mr. Muir and his associates would accept the offer for their stock. However, it was understood that Mr. Harriman had indicated his willingness to sell.

## OBSERVING NEGRO NEWSPAPER WEEK MEANS SUPPORT

Next week, March 19 to 26, Negro newspapers will observe their 134th anniversary. Organized during the slave period in America, the founders of the first Negro newspaper had two objectives in view. First, to fight slavery and racial discrimination, and second, to provide a media for news about Negroes and employment for Negro newspaper workers.

Succeeding papers, some large, some small, have not lost sight of these objectives for even though human slavery does not exist, racial discrimination does and needs to be fought everywhere. And while printing news about Negroes and their employment in the dailies are much more liberal, yet far from what it should be. We hope the day will come when Negro newspapers are unnecessary, but they must continue until democracy in journalism is complete.

Negro newspaper ownership has taken a terrible beating over the years seldom serving more than one generation. For instance, years ago such stalwarts as the Boston Guardian, Atlanta Independent, Washington (D. C.) Bee, Indianapolis Freeman, New York Age, Topeka Plaindealer, Chicago Bee, Richmond (Va.) Planet and a few others flourished and made great contributions to the advancement of the Negro. Today they are all gone.

And many have gone because the very people for whose advancement they were run failed to support them. Of course, nobody is forced to subscribe for a Negro newspaper. But every Negro who has any backbone; any Negro who is interested in the advancement of his race should.

Unfortunately there are well trained men and women in Des Moines who support nothing. They are doing very well in Des Moines because the NAACP, the Bystander and others in the forefront spent a lot of time and money breaking down discrimination, creating jobs and otherwise making it easier for them to live, work and earn a living. These folks are lazy recipients without courage, backbone or appreciation to carry a part of the responsibility their position demands. In fact, they ride without paying the toll.

Too many Negroes reach a position of apparent safety and forget the surroundings from which they came, forget to do for the community and youngsters what their community has done for them.

Negro newspaper week is designed to emphasize the contribution this group has made toward the advancement of the Negro in America. The Negro, for whom they are run primarily; should show their appreciation by supporting them.

## New York Times Arguments Set

MONTGOMERY, Jan. 13 (AP)—Circuit Judge Walter B. Jones will hear arguments March 3 on a new trial motion in the $500,000 libel suit judgment against The New York Times and four Negro leaders.

The motion, a preliminary step in an appeal to higher courts, was filed after a jury Nov. 3 awarded Police Commissioner L. B. Sullivan of Montgomery the full amount he asked for.

Sullivan sued after a full-page advertisement appeared in the newspaper last March 29 soliciting funds for the legal defense of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

King, who was facing trial at the time on charges of lying about his state income tax, was later acquitted.

## Second suit against Times opens Monday

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 28—(AP)—Mayor Earl James' $500,000 libel suit against The New York Times and four Negro leaders—an outgrowth of Alabama's racial conflict—goes to trial Monday.

**Like Police Commissioner L. B. Sullivan, who was awarded a $500,000 judgment by a jury in November, the Montgomery mayor claims he was libeled by a full page advertisement in The Times last March 29.**

In the Sullivan case, attorneys for the newspaper will argue their motion for a new trial March 3. If they are refused a retrial, they have said they will appeal the record judgment to a higher court.

STILL ANOTHER $500,000 libel complaint against The Times and the four Alabama Negro ministers, filed by City Parks Commissioner Frank Parks, will be tried after James' suit is decided.

**The three Montgomery officials contend they were held up to ridicule and shame by the newspaper ad, which dealt in part with police handling of Negro anti-segregation protests here last March.**

The four Negro defendants are the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy and the Rev. Solomon S. Seay Sr. of Montgomery, the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham and the Rev. J. E. Lowery of Mobile.

## Mayor's Suit Against Times Opens Today

Trial starts Monday on Mayor Earl James' suit seeking $500,000 from the New York Times and four Negro ministers.

The newspaper and the four Negroes will begin their defense on the Montgomery mayor's complaint already facing a $500,000 libel judgment awarded Police Commissioner L. B. Sullivan last November.

Defense attorneys are contesting the jury's awarding Sullivan the full amount he sought, and they will argue their motion for a new trial in that case March 3. They have said they will appeal to higher court if they are denied a retrial.

MARCH 29 AD

Sullivan, James and city Parks Commissioner Frank Parks each filed a $500,000 lawsuit claiming they were libeled by a full-page advertisement in the Times last March 29.

Parks' complaint against the newspaper and the four Negro leaders will be tried after James' suit is decided, probably this Spring.

All three city officials claim they were ridiculed and shamed by the Times ad, which was critical of police action against demonstrating Negro college students amid racial tension here last March.

It solicited money for the legal defense of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. before the Negro integration leader was acquitted on charges of falsifying his state income tax returns.

Negro defendants in the suits are the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy and the Rev. Solomon S. Seay Sr. of Montgomery, the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham and the Rev. J. E. Lowery of Mobile.

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## Second Trial Today In Times Libel Suit

### Montgomery Mayor Asks $500,000 Damages

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 29.—(UPI)—Trial begins here Monday on the second of three $500,000 libel suits against the New York Times and four Negro leaders.

Mayor Earl James has asked the damages for libel he contends was committed by a full page advertisement in the Times March 29, 1960.

Mayor James follows Police Commissioner L. B. Sullivan, who was awarded a $500,000 judgment by a jury in November. A new trial motion by the Times, contending the award was "grossly unjust" is due to come up for a hearing in Circuit Court here March 3.

A suit brought by parks commissioner Frank Parks, will come to trial after the James case is decided.

The three Montgomery officials argue they were held up to public ridicule and scorn by the ad, which solicited funds for the defense of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. on then-pending charges of falsifying his Alabama income tax report for 1958.

The advertisement dealt in part with police handling of Negro antisegregation protests in March of 1960. The officials allege that the ad implied they were derelict in their duty by arresting Negro demonstrators in the protests.

The four Negro defendants in the case are Revs. Ralph D. Abernathy and Solomon S. Seay Sr., both of Montgomery, Fred L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham, and J. E. Lowery of Mobile.

## Chicago Paper Enters State Libel Suits

CHICAGO —(AP)— The Chicago Tribune has announced its attorneys have sought permission to file a brief before the 5th U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in connection with libel suits brought against The New York Times in Alabama.

The Tribune said Tuesday the brief contains an affidavit which contends a lower court ruling against The Times jeopardizes freedom of the press. Tribune lawyers filed the petition at the appeals court in New Orleans.

The ruling in question was written last fall by Judge H. H. Grooms of a U. S. District Court in Alabama. The ruling held that The Times could be sued for libel because sending reporter Harrison Salisbury into Alabama on an assignment constituted doing business in Alabama.

# Capital Ex-Official Threatens To Sue Times

MONTGOMERY, Feb. 10 (AP)—Former Police Commissioner Clyde Sellers will sue The New York Times and four Negro ministers for libel unless they retract statements in a Times advertisement, an attorney said today.

Four present city and state officials have already filed suits, and judgments of $500,000 each have been awarded to Police Commissioner L. B. Sullivan, Sellers' successor, and Mayor Earl James.

Libel complaints by City Commissioner Frank Parks and Gov. John Patterson are awaiting trial.

**Times Request Ok'd**

Meanwhile, Times attorneys received court approval of their request for five days' notice of the date in April when the jury panel is drawn for James' suit. They said they want to be present when names are selected for jury service.

Joe Booth, Montgomery attorney, said registered letters from Sellers demanding retraction were mailed four days ago to The Times as well as the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy and the Rev. S. S. Seay Sr. of Montgomery, the Rev. J. E. Lowery of Mobile and the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham.

Abernathy, Shuttlesworth and Lowery have confirmed receipt of the retraction demands.

**Seeks Retractions**

Booth said Sellers will sue unless the retractions are printed. State law allows punitive as well as general damages if no "full and fair" retraction is made within five days after a demand is received.

Sellers' demand and the suits already filed resulted from a full-page Times advertisement last March 29 soliciting money for the legal defense of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

The ad mentioned King's arrest and the bombing of his home while Sellers was police commissioner.

# Times Says Libel Suit Jury Was Prejudiced

## Judge Jones Takes Under Advisement Newspaper's Request For New Trial

MONTGOMERY, March 3 (AP) — New York Times attorneys charged today that a jury which returned a $500,000 libel suit judgment against the newspaper and four Negro ministers was prejudiced.

After a hearing, Circuit Judge Walter B. Jones took under advisement the newspaper's request for a new trial on the libel verdict awarded to Montgomery Police Commissioner L. B. Sullivan last November.

Sullivan, Mayor Earl James, Commissioner Frank Parks and Gov. John Patterson sued the newspaper and the four Negroes because an advertisement which appeared in The Times last March 29.

James and Sullivan have been awarded $500,000 judgments or their claims that they were libeled by the ad which criticized handling of Negro student demonstrations here last year. The suits by Patterson and Parks are awaiting trial.

Seeking a new trial in the Sullivan case, Times attorneys told the judge that the 12 jurors were prejudiced and were subjected to outside pressure from private citizens while the trial was under way.

One of the newspaper lawyers, Rod McLeod of Birmingham, said the jurors were pressured into returning the $500,000 verdict after their names and pictures were published in news accounts of the trial.

Members of the jury were recognized and approached on the street while the trial was in progress, McLeod said, and statements were made to them urging them to "stick The Times."

Another Times attorney, Eric Embry of Birmingham, said the size of the libel judgment—largest in Alabama history—"conclusively proves that this jury was not free from bias and prejudice."

Roland Nachman of Montgomery, an attorney for Sullivan, said the newspaper has no right to another trial. "They gambled on the outcome of this trial and they lost, and now they want a new trial," Nachman said.

Lawyers representing the Negroes, co-defendants with the Times in the libel suits, also were present but Jones refused to listen to their arguments.

The judge had ruled earlier that the Negro defendants forfeited their motion for another trial because they failed to ask for a continuance on the hearing when The Times did.

Since they have no pending motion for a new trial, the Negroes' cars and other property have been attached to help pay the $500,000 judgment to Sullivan.

The Negro ministers are Ralph B. Abernathy and S. S. Seay Sr. of Montgomery, F. L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham and J. E. Lowery of Mobile.

# New Trial Is Asked By Times Attorneys

## Libel Judgment Said To Be Based On 'Prejudice'

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 3. — (UPI) — Attorneys for the New York Times demanded a new trial Friday on grounds the $500,000 libel judgment against the newspaper was awarded by a jury motivated by "bias and prejudice."

Birmingham attorneys Eric Embry and Roderick McLeod said the half-million - dollar judgment "is the largest libel settlement in the world and ranks in the top six of the largest damage suits in history. The judgment itself conclusively proves that the jury was motivated by passion and prejudice and not reason."

Noland Nachman of Montgomery, who won the settlement last November for Police Commissioner L. B. Sullivan, answered, "I don't know of any case of a newspaper being guilty of such monstrous actions, such cavalier conduct, such gross misbehaviour."

"The Times, considered one of the leading newspapers in the world, could have apologized, it could have said it was sorry. But no. The paper chose to fight it out, bull its way through a suit which it could not defend with truth. I have never seen such a reckless attitude."

Circuit Judge Walter B. Jones took the Times' motion for a new trial under advisement. He gave no indication when he would rule on the request.

Sullivan, and later Mayor Earl James, were awarded $500,000 in damages following publication of a full-page advertisement in the Times March 29.

# TIMES WINS POINT IN ALABAMA SUITS

## Libel Service Quashed After Federal Appeals Ruling

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Nov. 22 (UPI)—Federal District Judge H. H. Grooms granted a motion Wednesday to quash service in seven libel suits against The New York Times. The suits stemmed from articles alleging a climate of racial terror.

The plaintiffs in the suit, Birmingham and Bessemer City officials, immediately filed for permission to amend the complaints. Judge Grooms said he would give the newspaper time to file for dismissal of the new request for service.

The United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals remanded the suits in June with the instructions that they be voided.

By unanimous vote, the court declared Judge Grooms had erred by not quashing the suits.

Harrison E. Salisbury, a reporter, was named co-defendant with the newspaper.

The suits were brought by former Commissioner James Morgan and Commissioners Eugene Connor and J. T. Waggoner of Birmingham; Bessemer City Commissioners Jess Lanier, Herman Thompson and Raymond Parsons; and Joe Lindsey, a Birmingham detective.

The suits resulted from articles published in The Times, written by Mr. Salisbury after he returned to New York from a brief visit to Alabama in April, 1960.

The Circuit Court ruled the activities of Mr. Salisbury in Alabama did not give a cause of action, saying in essence the alleged libel was not committed until the articles had been published in New York.

The Appeals Court held that the Alabama law finds actionable only deeds completed within the state.

The court avoided the constitutional question of due process raised by The Times, basing its action on interpretation of the Alabama substitute service law.

The commissioners of the two cities filed a total of $3,000,000 in libel suits against the newspaper and Mr. Salisbury following publication of the articles.

# Fugazy, Lawyer Sue Time, Inc. For $2 Million

NEW YORK, March 24 (AP) Fight promoter William D. Fugazy and attorney Julius November each filed a million-dollar libel suit today against Time, Inc.

Each action was based on what was termed a "false and libelous" article in the Feb. 20 isue of Sports Illustrated, published by the Time organization.

Fugazy, president of Feature Sports, Inc., which promoted the Floyd Patterson-Ingemar Johannson heavyweight title bout, said the article reflected adversely on his activities as head of the concern.

November is Patterson's attorney. Both suits were filed by Roy M. Cohn, a lawyer who also is a principal figure in the Feature Sports Enterprise.

# 18 Manhattan Lawyers To Assist Attorneys in New York Times Suits

NEW YORK.—(ANP)—Eighteen lawyers of both races here, headed by Theodore W. Kheel as chairman, formed an advisory committee last week to assist the defense counsel in the libel suits brought by Alabama officials against Dr. Martin Luther King jr., four other Negro religious leaders and The New York Times.

The suits are based on an advertisement that appeared in The Times on March 29, 1960, in defense of Dr. King and equal rights for Negroes in the South.

The suits total $2,500,000 and are still pending in state courts. Two judgments totalling $1,500,000 have been awarded the state officials so far and appeals are being prepared.

At the organizational meeting Kheel said the lawyers group determined to protect the process of law. He termed the Alabama suits unequal injustice under the guise of law."

# Court Takes Times Appeal Under Advisement

NEW ORLEANS (AP) — With an attorney arguing that freedom of the press was at stake, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, Monday took under advisement a lower court decision permitting the New York Times to be sued in connection with news stories involving segregation.

The hearing was on a request for dismissal of a judgment rendered by Alabama Federal Judge H. H. Grooms, who held the newspaper was subject to legal action as an outgrowth of reporter Harrison Salisbury's stories.

Thomas F. Daly of New York represented the Times and argued that the Alabama statute under which the newspaper was served is unconstitutional.

The plaintifs had nof cause of action, he said, because nothing took place in Alabama which was an element for a cause of action. He noted tht the stories were published in New York.

If sending a reporter into a state to uncover news subjects a foreign paper to suit in that state, he argued, then every local community has a method of surpressing a newspaper and keeping its reporters out.

James E. Simpson of Birmingham argued for the plaintiffs. He told the court that the Times did not remain within the safety of its New York office, but purposely sent Salisbury into Alabama where he performed an essential feature of the newspaper business.

Without Salisbury's action, Simpson said, the cause of acton could not have taken place in New York.

Simpson also noted that Salisbury's activities in Alabama were all a continuing part of the libelous action.

Francis H. Hare also represented the plaintiffs and claimed it "wasn't fair" for the Times to go into Alabama, do all the harm it wanted to do "and then retreat behind state lines and launch the bullets."

The court gave no indication when it might reach a decision.

# Negro Defendants Decoys, Times Says

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (AP)—Evidence in the trial of two libel suits against the New York Times shows, the newspaper contended Wednesday, that four Alabama Negro ministers were sued improperly as co-defendants.

Attorneys for the Times made the point to support their contention that three other libel complaints, awaiting trial, belong in federal rather than state court.

They contended before U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. that the Negroes were brought in as codefendants solely to keep the trials before a state judge.

Johnson withheld an immediate ruling.

After the first two cases were tried in state court and juries awarded $500,000 judgments to Montgomery Mayor Earl James and Police Commissioner L. B. Sullivan, Times lawyers took the remaining three suits to Johnsons's court and left it up to opposing attorneys to get them transferred back to the state docket.

Pending are suits by Gov. John Patterson, for $1 million, and by city commissioner Frank Parks and former police commissioner Clyde Sellers for $500,000 each.

To support their contention, Times attorneys cited testimony in the James and Sullivan trials that the names of the four Negroes were used in a disputed advertisement without their knowledge or consent.

The advertisement, which prompted all five suits, solicited funds for the defense of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. while the Negro integration leader faced trial on charges of lying about his state income tax. King, now of Atlanta, later was acquitted.

Statements in the ad, which appeared in the Times March 29, 1960, were critical of the handling of Negro student demonstrations here early last year.

The Negroes are the Rev. S. S. Seay Jr. and the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy of Montgomery, the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham and the Rev. J. E. Lowery of Mobile.

# N. Y. Times Contends Negroes Wrongly Sued

MONTGOMERY, April 26 (AP)—Evidence in the trial of two libel suits against the New York Times shows, the newspaper contended today, that four Alabama ministers were improperly sued as co-defendants.

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JUNE, 1961
ALABAMA SUIT. ALABAMA ARTICLE ON SEGREGATION
THE UNITED STATES FIFTH CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS ENDED LIBEL CASE



# TIMES IS CLEARED ON ALABAMA SUIT

## U. S. Court Finds for Paper in Ending Libel Case

Special to The New York Times.

NEW ORLEANS, June 14—The United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals held today that The New York Times and one of its staff members could not be sued for libel in Alabama over an article on segregation that appeared in the newspaper.

The Times had appealed a ruling of Federal Judge Harlan H. Grooms of the Northern District of Alabama that denied a motion by the newspaper to quash service in seven libel suits, which had been consolidated for hearing.

Judge Grooms had held that the newspaper was properly served under the Alabama substituted service statute, which allows service of process on foreign parties through the Secretary of State.

In a unanimous opinion written by Chief Judge Elbert R. Tuttle and concurred in by Circuit Judge Richard T. Rives and District Judge Dozier DeVane, the Court of Appeals reversed Judge Grooms and remanded the cases to the District Court, with directions to enter a judgment for The Times and Harrison Salisbury, one of its reporters, on the motions to quash the service of process.

### Published Last Year

Mr. Salisbury wrote the article that was attacked in the libel suits after a five-day visit to Alabama in April, 1960, and it was published in The Times on April 11, 1960.

The suits grew out of an article describing racial tension in Birmingham.

The plaintffs were Birmingham City Commissioners James W. Morgan, Eugene Connor, James T. Waggoner and Jess Lanier; Raymond Parsons and Hermand Thompson, city commissioners of Bessemer, a Birmingham suburb, and a Bir- Lindsay. All asked $500,000 except Mr. Lindsay, who sought $100,000 in damages.

The seven charged that the article caused them to suffer "public contempt, ridicule, shame and disgrace."

The Appeals Court pointed out that it was not seriously disputed by the complainants that the alleged libels, for which the suits were brought, constituted a cause of action only when publication occurred in New York.

Judge Tuttle then quoted the Supreme Court of Alabama, which has held that, in an action for libel against a newspaper, the injury occurs at the place where the newspaper is primarily published.

"It is thus clear that whatever else may be in dispute, none of the activities of Salisbury, and therefore of The Times, performed or done in Alabama, ripened into a cause of action in that state," the opinion held.

The validity of service also was chelenged by The Chicago Tribue and Atlanta Newspapers, Inc., in briefs filed as "friends of the court."

The Tribune argued that the lower court's ruling would expose any newspaper "to a prolix, protracted and inevitably expensive litigation in a foreign jurisdiction whenever it assigns a reporter to visit that jurisdiction and cover a news story."

"We do not believe a free press ca nfunction in such a setting," The Tribune said. "* * * the dangers so created would inhibit reporting of some of the significant news stories and ideas of the day."

The Tribune commented that a newspaper's views on a controverssial matter may often be distasteful to public opinion in a distant locality where the paper is little read.

"The probability of obtaining a fair-minded jury in such circumstances is practically nonexistent," it said.

The court based its reversal on a strict construction of the Alabama substituted service statute and did not rule on a constitutional question of due process raised by The Times.

In addition to attacking the District Judge's application of the state law, the newspaper contended that if the statute was so applied it would violate the due process clause of the Fouteenth Amendment in that it would interfere with the freedom of the press and thus abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, as guaranteed under the First Amendment.

### Critical Point Cited

The Appeals Court held that the critical language of the Alabama law is, "in any action accrued or accruing from the doing of such business, or the performing of such work, or service, or as an incident thereto by any such non-resident."

It held that the Alabama law provides that substituted service can be had only if the cause of action sued on accrued from the doing of such business or the performing of such work or service.

Judge Tuttle asserted that practically every decision with which the court was familiar had construed the word "accrue" in connection with the accruing of a cause of action as meaning becoming complete so that the aggrieved party can begin and prosecute an action.

The Alabama law, the Appeals Court said, required that before service may be had on the Secretary of State a completed action must have arisen from acts done in Alabama.

"We think it too plain for argument that no such cause of action arose from the work done or from anything incidental thereto," the opinion stated.

Judge Tuttle wrote that if the court had come to any other conclusion on the construction of the Alabama statute, it would have been faced with a serious constitutional question.

## Savannah Tribune Comes to Life

Savannah—The Savannah Tribune resumed publication here last week after a lapse of six months during which it changed ownership. The paper, 85 years old, is now being published, twice weekly by Davis Lee, who operates other papers in Newark, N. J., Anderson, S. C., Brooklyn, N. Y., and Valdosta, Ga.

Starting in 1875 when Col. J. H. DeVeaux founded it after he served in the Civil War and in the National Guard, the paper was continuously published for 85 years.

# File Suit In Attempt To Buy Sav. Tribune

SAVANNAH, Ga. (UPI)—A South Carolina Negro editor who attempted to buy the Savannah Tribune, a weekly Negro newspaper, Friday filed a $250,000 damage suit in federal court charging a conspiracy by the defendant with the Savannah branch of the NAACP.

The defendant is Mrs. Willa Ayers Johnson of Savannah, the present newspaper owner, the plaintiff is Davis Lee of Anderson, S. C.

Lee alleged in his suit that he had signed a lease with option to buy the Savannah Tribune, oldest Negro newspaper in the United States, but that Mrs. Johnson let him put the plant in good shape knowing she would later "concoct an excuse to take it over."

The editor charged "the excuse" was provided by the recent Sol C. Johnson High School boycott. Lee said the Tribune under his editorship endorsed the school board action in refusing to renew ex-principal Alflorence Cheatham's contract, condemned the "NAACP students strike" and then, he charged the "conspirators, including this defendant, decided that this plaintiff had to be stopped."

"The only person who could stop this plaintiff and remove the only opposing force to the agitators and pressure groups in Savannah was this defendant," Lee's suit said.

Lee said after he took charge of the Savannah Tribune last November, the daily newspapers ran a story to the effect that he had several million dollars worth of suits pending in the South Carolina courts against the NAACP.

He said the NAACP circulated a petition to get local Negro citizens to pledge that they would not read or support the Tribune.

Lee said that he had an agreement to buy the paper for $20,000 but that later Mrs. Johnson agreed to a reduction of this price. He said he was to make monthly payments for the six-month lease he held. He said on May 11, Mrs. Johnson and her husband came to the Tribune plant, ordered everyone to stop work and when they had left changed the locks on the doors.

# Wetumpka Herald Sold

WETUMPKA (AP)—The weekly Wetumpka Herald and its affiliated commercial printing plant has been sold by Hal Fisher to a firm headed by Bruce Jetton of Auburn, the two said Wednesday night.

Fisher, retiring publisher, said he will devote full time to the Tuskegee News, which he also owns.

No sale price was disclosed.

The sale, effective last Monday, marked the end of more than 60 years of ownership by the family of the late Howell Rose Golson, who became publisher of the paper, then known as the Weekly Herald, in July, 1898. The Herald for years has been the only newspaper published in Wetumpka, the Elmore county seat.

Jetton, a 1949 journalism graduate of the University of Alabama has been agricultural editor with the Alabama Extension Service at Auburn for the past five years. He has worked for the Birmingham Post-Herald, the Enterprise Ledger and the Tuscaloosa News, where he was farm and state editor for 8½ years.

Rejects Macon Bus Bid

# Georgia High Court Ducks Bias Issue

The Pittsburgh Courier

By TREZZVANT W. ANDERSON

ATLANTA, Ga.—Exactly one month to the day from the time they heard arguments that Georgia's city bus segregation laws were unconstitutional, the state's highest tribunal, the Georgia Supreme Court ruled that no constitutional issue was involved in the Macon bus seating case and ordered the case transferred to the Georgia Court of Appeals.



Mr. Anderson

Over the week-end, Attys. Donald L. Hollowell and Horace Ward were studying the decision that was unanimously concurred in by all seven members of the Supreme Court. Mr. Justice Mobley wrote the decision.

The court held that the indictment against John E. Glover, 19, and 11 other teen-agers, arrested in Macon last February when they staged a series of sit-ins on city buses, did not include mention of a related section of the law which requires separation of the races in public transportation.

This came, in spite of the fact that Macon City Solicitor Clarence Clay told the justices in arguments on Oct. 9 that the students were arrested because they were colored. "There's no way of getting around that," Mr. Clay told the high court.

However, the indictment was brought under the section giving bus drivers the right to seat the passengers on his vehicle. The racial separation section of the law was not cited in the actual indictment. It was this that Attorney Hollowell strove to have the Supreme Court tie-in with the arrests.

The significance of the effort before the State Supreme Court was that if that body had ruled the law unconstitutional, their verdict would apply in every city in Georgia, whereas a Federal action applies only to the jurisdiction in which the case is brought. This would mean a long series of suits.

Mr. Hollowell and Mr. Ward were studying the ruling to determine what their next steps will be, and had no immediate comment. However, The Courier understands that a Federal action is possible, but that would have to be an entirely new case. Glover's case was selected as typical of all others for the test purpose.

# Capital Heartbeat

## Told you so!

## Thurgood Marshall to federal bench

WASHINGTON

**LAST WEEK,** Capital Heartbeat had the exclusive on Thurgood Marshall's pending appointment to the Second Circuit Court of Appeals.

It's now definite and President Kennedy will submit the brilliant Mr. Marshall's name to the Senate Judiciary Committee headed up by Mississippi Sen. James O. Eastland. Expect no problem.

Thurgood makes the second colored person to be appointed to the U.S. Court of Appeals and not the first as erroneously reported by Jack Steele of the Scripps - Howard newspapers. (White folks just don't know what the devil's going on with colored people in America, do they?)

Judge William Henry Hastie is also a judge in the 3rd Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia. He was the first colored person named.

* * *

**JUSTICE DEPARTMENT** made no loud noises about it, but it quietly filed an amicus curiae brief in support of the sit - ins which will be heard before the October term of the U.S. Supreme Court. The cases started in Louisiana and involve Southern University students. They are John Burrell Garner et al, Mary Briscoe et al, and Jannette Hoston et al vs. State of Louisiana.

This is one more instance of the Kennedy administration laying it on the line in a crucial area where it counts.

* * *

**COMMERCE DEPARTMENT** under its sincere and able Secretary Luther Hodges is moving ahead again on another integration front.

**CLIFFORD EDWARD RUCKER** of Minneapolis, Minn. and currently executive director of the Governor's Human Rights Commission, will be hired as a special assistant to the Commissioner of the Patent Office. He will not only handle integration problems, but all personnel phases.

Rucker really has it upstairs. An M.A. in public administration, he also has a law degree and lists accounting as one of his fields of specialization. Another good new frontiersman.

* * *

* * *

**ADAM POWELL** off to Europe for five weeks. Speaking about Powell, he really took a pasting in the N.Y. City primary last week.

Thank goodness, Capital Heartbeat hedged at the last minute and predicted that if the vote went over 500,000 Wagner would win. This soothsaying business can get so uncomfortable sometime.

* * *

**ROY DAVENPORT,** recently appointed to Civil War Centennial Commission (again reported by Capital Heartbeat several weeks ago) is right fine, thank you, and doing well.

He got in from California Thursday after an official trip there.

That was such an embarrassing goof on his reported "death". One more reason why editors and chiefs of bureaus get grey hair.

* * *

**STATE DEPARTMENT** recent conference on fair employment saw a new "star" on the race relations horizon — Hampton president, Jerome "Brud" Holland. Holland impressed many of the officials very much.

Credit Dix Fox, formerly of Minnesota, with arranging and doing a bang - up job on the conference.

* * *

**PEACE CORPS** beginning to get a bad image among colored people. To begin with, most colored people have stayed away from it, figuring it to be another agency "colored" by the racist attitudes found in the State Department. Also, colored kids have asked themselves, "why go abroad to explain democracy when I should be fighting for it at home?"

Peace Corps started off with good intentions and brought over Charles Nelson (a brother) from ICA to head up its program planning. It grabbed George Carter for its African desk and Franklin Williams as special assistant to its director, Sargent Shriver, and Ted Brown to head up the Ghana program.

Capital Heartbeat

## Dixon to get Post Office job

HENRY L. DIXON, JR. set for assistant postmaster in Washington, D.C.

Congratulations to the community - minded, hard-working Henry. It couldn't happen to a finer guy.

**TANGANYIKA** which is slated for independence December 28 (making it the 28th free African nation) is currently wondering whether it will get a colored ambassador, a wise move for the Kennedy administration.

Julius Nyerere has many close colored friends in America and feels a strong bond of kinship for his American brothers.

Leading the list is Frank Montero who has helped to raise money for many of Nyerere's campaigns. Montero also has the backing of some respectable State Department[ers].

President Kennedy will begin to hurt himself unless he begins to make some more colored appointments in Africa. While Africans don't expect to have all the brothers sent only to Africa, Africans don't want a lilywhite contingent either — and that's precisely what we have in Africa right now.

* * *

**NEWLY APPOINTED** PUC member Jim Washington moving nicely in the community. He'll be guest speaker for the D.C. Federation of Civic Association's dinner Oct. 21st. He has also been named to the board of directors of the National Capital Housing Authority.

**JIM POPE** of USIA finally struck pay dirt and is now accompanying the peripatetic G. Mennen Williams on another one of his tours of the fascinating continent.

* * *

**LT. OWEN B. DAVIS,** of the Second Precinct, just could be Washington, D.C.'s first colored police captain.

The pleasant and very popular police official received a 95 efficiency rating. He'll take the police promotion exams on Oct. 21. Since the rating counts 60 percent vis - a - vis 40 percent for the exams, Lt. Davis' chances for promotion are excellent.

Capt. James E Stargil who now heads up the 2nd Precinct (and who incidentally has been doing a remarkably fine job in that area) is reported slated for a post at main headquarters.

Should Lt. Davis win his promotion, he then would be a likely candidate to step in and continue Capt. Stargil's good work in the 2nd Precinct.

So, Lt. Davis is spending his evenings studying — in fact that's all he's doing evenings.

The promotion would do more to elevate the nation's capital police force internationally and nationally as a symbol of fair play than any other step that could be taken. Everybody but everybody watches Washington.

Let's all pull for the able Lt. Davis on this one.

* * *

**ON OTHER** police fronts, Virgil Hood, narcotics policeman who was exonerated of charges against him, received a 91 efficiency rating and likewise stands a good chance of promotion. Pvt. Ted Harris who was also exonerated of charges recently received a 79 efficiency rating.

* * *

**GRIFFIITHS CONSUMERS** reportedly getting ready to hire a colored salesman — not driver — for its company. A good step forward.



HENRY L. DIXON



LT. OWEN DAVIS

# Capital Heartbeat



MRS. MARJORIE LAWSON

Sat. 12-23-61

## Will Marjorie Lawson be next

WASHINGTON

**THE ONE PERSON** who was one of the earliest supporters of President Kennedy in his bid for the office was Mrs. Marjorie Lawson.

Although all of the other very early political supporters (Ribicoff, Bailey, Udall, O'Donnell et al) have been amply rewarded for their toils, Mrs. Lawson has been by-passed.

Now the Kennedy administration has a rare opportunity to "kill two birds with one stone:" appointing Mrs. Lawson as Treasurer of the United States to succeed Mrs. R. Smith — should the latter decide to return to California and campaign for Gov. Brown's re-election.

In appointing Mrs. Lawson, President Kennedy will give further convincing evidence of his determination in the field of racial equality and he will also show he is not necessarily "anti - woman." (His administration has woefully ignored women in appointments.).

* * *

**THE PRESIDENT'S** decision to have White House Associate Press secretary accompany him to South America was indeed a shrewd political move.

Race conscious South American crowds which last year hurled insults at former vice - president Nixon about our race problem ("what about Little Rock" etc.) will look twice before they get out of hand with the noticeably brown - skinned Mr. Hatcher standing next to the President during all of his press briefings and tours.

* * *

**OUR TWO TOP** gals in Congress, Maxine Dargans of Rep. Powell's office and Christine Davis of Rep. Dawson's office, both returned from inspection tours abroad within five days of each other.

Mrs. Davis who covered the European operations for the Government Operations Committee checked in last Thursday and Mrs. Fleming who covered South America for the House Education and Labor Committee returned this past Tuesday.

Both are getting things in shape for Congress' reconvening Jan. 4.

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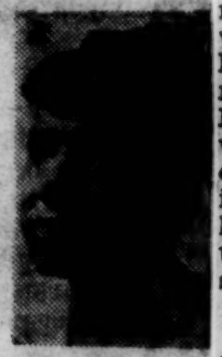
# World Backdrop

By Marguerite Cartwright

The Pittsburgh Courier

**SOUTH, U. S. A.**

THE STUDENTS of North Carolina, black, and many whites, were eager that their first-to-be-seen and most obvious shame (the airport restrooms designated "white ladies" and "Negro women") should not prevail at the time of President Kennedy's visit to their state.



Dr. Cartwright

The Governor, the NAACP, and some others agreed, and the authorities responded to the student's threat of a picket line.

I arrived at the Raleigh airport afterwards to speak for United Nations Week at the University of North Carolina at Durham. I sought the small area where I'd noted the offending sign on an earlier visit a few months back.

The students had won their victory. I'm sure the President was pleased. At least this darker citizen was no longer humiliated. Here's hoping Birmingham will be next.

■

**UNITED NATIONS, USA**

"ARE THERE no UN parties during this Assembly? I always look for your reports on the receptions given during the General Assembly." So writes one reader. There have, indeed, been many parties—public and private — which I've taken great pleasure in attending.

The Ambassador from Upper Volta, who lives in an ultra, ultra Fifth Avenue penthouse, gave an especially pleasant dinner party, attended by Ambassadors from Mali, Guinea, Ethiopia, Sudan, and others.

Not UN, but enjoyable, was the reception given by Mayor Wagner at Gracie Mansion for General Aboud of the Sudan. While I disapprove of the present Sudanese military dictatorship, I accepted the invitation, and I must be honest and admit that the general is a man of great personal charm, who made a most favorable impression. One wonders why he does not decide to run for office and lead the country democratically.

Reference has already been made to the identical affair which was given a few days later for President Tubman. I noted that at this reception, Bishops Taylor and Harris were both present, and I wondered who was currently doing soul-saving on the Liberian home front. Could it be that they feel that there are more souls to be saved here?

■

**LUNCHED WITH** Ghana's Foreign Minister Ako Adjei, U. S.-educated and Lincoln schoolmate of Kwame Nkrumah. This was a private affair, attended by the Ambassador from Camerou, M. Quaison-Sackey, Ghana's High Commissioner to Canada, Mr. Nylander and President Nkrumah's old friend, Portia Spencer from Philadelphia.

The elegant Hotel Pierre was the spot chosen for the Sudan reception honoring General Aboud, and later that evening, a gay dinner-dance was given at the New York Liberian Embassy. The weather was cold and dreary, but this in no way dampened the spirits of the lucky invitees.

Lunch, just prior to his departure, with Sierra Leone's Dr. John Karetha-Smart, who currently holds the portfolio of Minister of External Affairs. The popular African leader is already being spoken of as a candidate for the top office in his country in the next election, which is next year.

Married to a charming American, who has a degree in Theology from Yale, and is an excellent high-life dancer, he is a teacher, medical doctor (degree from Toronto University), and a statesman, who has had a brilliant past and has an even more brilliant future.

■

**GHANA'S** reception, generally attended by many whom I suspect were not invited, was closely guarded this year, with identification on entrance. Ghana's popular UN Ambassador Quaison-Sackey has long proven his ability to give some of the best parties of the UN corps. Missing from the receiving line this year was his wife, who has been engaged in her own project—producing a little "American" to add to her fine family, with too much standing forbidden.

■

Reference has been made to the annual women's luncheon, given by Israel's Foreign Minister Mrs. Golda Meir. An elaborate reception, not limted to lady delegates, was also given by the Israelis to honor the General Assembly. None but the Arab League delegates seemed to be missing . . . and even some of them appeared.

Lunch at the UN with Mrs. Chester Bowles just before her departure for South America. Her other guest (and the reason for our meeting) was tall, charming Ali Monganu of Northern Nigeria. The youthful Moslem educator is currently a delegate to the UN. He is principal of the school, where the son of Chester Bowles and his wife are teaching. The young Bowles couple will have their first child in Africa, as they plan to continue their work there.

There have been other enjoyable receptions and luncheons, but space prohibits further mention.

# World Backdrop

By Marguerite Cartwright

Pittsburgh Courier

I TOOK A LONG look at the group of pictures from my files, which once again so many publications wanted to purchase from me. Photographs of young Michael Rockefeller and his family, taken at the time I first met them—in West Africa.



Dr. Cartwright

All guests of the same government official, on side trips and at meals I had a chance to become acquainted with the man who was to become Governor of New York state, his wife, and their three children — one of whom was the (as of this writing) missing Michael.

I have always refused to release these pictures for publication, because I regarded them as intimate family shots taken under circumstances where, it seemed to me, even Rockefellers were entitled to privacy.

Pittsburgh Pa.

**AT THE TIME** when son Stephan was married to the Norwegian girl, similar requests were made for my pictures, but I declined, and so this group of informal photographs of the Rockefellers on a holiday have never been made public.

I met Governor and Mrs. Rockefeller after this first meeting (about two years later), this time also in Africa—at the Nigerian Independence celebration.

"It seems so strange, the only time we ever meet is far away from home," she said.

The Rockefellers seemed to be a close-knit happy family. Since the divorce announcement like many others I've wondered and wondered what went wrong.

■

**ON THIS TRIP** to Africa—father Nelson had also chartered a plane, but of course, under happier circumstances. The family had decided to "do" Africa. Rather prophetically, the senior Rockefeller had said, We can expect that this part of the world will continue to be in the press for a long time to come."

Mother Tod Rockefeller had earlier put it this way, "We want our young people to see all parts of the world," and later, rather mystically, she referred to Africa as "the world that was to be." One day, as we sat down to lunch, they seemed to be getting a lot from the trip. Mrs. Rockefeller smiled happily.

""Yes, I do feel that they are. I was uncertain at first . . . You know how it is, sometimes the best laid plans of parents go astray . . . but everything has gone so well—beyond our expectations."

■

**I DON'T RECALL** what exchange I had, if any, with the man who was to be Governor of New York State. I do remember spending much time with son Michael. Then a student at Harvard, he was interested that my husband and stepfather had also gone to Harvard, and that I knew his college well, having been born in Cambridge.

Referring to his courses there, he confided that his real interest was in architecture. He was taking "a few history and other courses in the humanities . . . I want to stay "liberal" while I am deciding what field to enter," he said.

When I told young Rockefeller that I had known Frank Lloyd Wright, he grew enthusiastic. "Oh, how I'd like to have met him. He is one of my idols. I'd love to have worked with him."

**MICHAEL ROCKEFELLER** was fairer and smaller than the other members of the family. He wore glasses, had thin, blond hair, rather poor skin, and sallow complexion. My memory of him does not jibe with the bearded photographs that have been published recently. I do recall that he was

energetic, and seemed even restless at times.

My sympathy goes to the Rockefeller family. It seems that they have had tragedy strike more than they deserved. I do hope that son Michael will have been found alive and well long before this column appears.

Sadly, any prophecy I'd make would have to be a pessimistic one from my knowledge of the type of difficult terrain—but miracles can happen. Here's hoping . . .

# World Backdrop

By Marguerite Cartwright

The Pittsburgh Courier

p. 23

## COLD WAR HOLIDAY

AFTER LO, these many years, I finally made it. I managed to secure an invitation to the posh and prestigious reception given by the Soviets. Previously, only the USA and the Soviets have not done me the honor of being invited to their UN receptions.



Dr. Cartwright

Now, with the Soviet capitulation, only my own government snubs me. (The Cubans did not invite me to their last party, but I did receive an invitation to the previous one. I attended and reported same in this space. Pittsburgh Courier 12-2-61

As to the Soviet reception—short of war, there was no chance of my refusing. In the first place, how could I report in this space who was there? Moreover, even cold war considerations do not prevent attendance at UN affairs.

■

**AMONG THE** early arrivals was the United States' UN Ambassador Plimpton, second in command of the U. S. Mission. A five-man U. S. Navy delegation appeared. New York Public Events Commissioner Richard C. Patterson came, and according to the New York Herald-Tribune, he said (quote), "It was a fine party. They always give good parties. They leave no stone unturned making you feel at home."

This annual affair, given to celebrate the 44th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, has the well-merited reputation of being all that the New York Commissioner claimed for it. Apparently each Russian delegation member took on the task of making individual guests feel at home.

Pleasantries were exchanged and one was directed to the endless flow of superb food and drink. Mrs. Zorin, who moved easily among the guests, pointed out the traditional stuffed rolls. "Break it in half," she said.

**AS TO WHO** attended, just about everyone who was fortunate enough to get a ticket. However, the only other U. S. Negroes I saw were Ralph Bunche and a girl brought by one of the younger members of the Liberian delegation. Sir Patrick Dean and others from the UK were there. Represented by senior or top members of the missions were France, Belgium, Spain and other European countries.

I believe all the Commonwealth countries came. Most, if not all, of the African countries—Sudan, Nigeria, Ghana, Mali, Dahomey, Liberia, and former members of the French community—sent their ambassadors. Israel and many Asian countries were represented by ambassadors, and the UN top man, Burmese U. Thant, and the UN Protocol Chief, represented the World Organigation.

One other interesting commentary on this affair was the frequency with which it was compared unfavorably with the USA, which is rapidly gaining the reputation of giving the worst parties. The representative of a country very friendly to the United States said to me, "The United States certainly can learn from the Russians how to give a party.

■

**"YOU ARE** so rich, one would certainly expect to get good food at your receptions." After this, two others approached me and said the same thing. I could not take offense, for at the one U. S. press party I attended, the refreshments consisted of stale peanuts, very soft potato chips, and rye, which ran out after the first hour.

As the world press was present, this was costly in terms of United States prestige.

Speaking of the press, at the Russian party were AP, UPI, Reuters, Ghana News Agency, every large New York newspaper, and from Tom Hamilton of the New York Times to Lydia Infeld of the Liberian Age.

All of the guests seemed to be busy stuffing themselves to make mention of the bomb, the Hungarians, or Berlin. But perhaps, that is at is should have been—a cold war holiday.

I never cease to marvel at the occasions when events are reported in the daily press so completely at variance with the way I saw or heard them take place.

Take the now long past speech given during the first week of the General Assembly by President Kennedy. Every daily newspaper drooled over the favorable impression the President made on the African-Asian neutralist states. After the speech, the usual tally was taken:

"What did you think of President Kennedy's speech?" etc., etc. I found no caps flung into the air There was earnest satisfaction expressed over the reference to disarmament. Leaders were polite, but non-commital. After all, an American was making the inquiry.

■

**IT UNDOUBTEDLY** fitted the purpose of our foreign affairs pundits to say the neutralists cheered over the "Big Man's" speech, or we may have just convinced ourselves that the old tried-and-true reference to Russian colonialism will always wow them and be the last word.

The truth is that it is just dismissed as a cold war cliche, accomplishing nothing with those we want to impress, all the Schuylers, Peglers, Lawrences, Hearsts, or Daily News to the contrary.

■

**THE MOST** surprising comment was from an Asian who showed amazing familiarity with the Kennedy speech writers, and casually noted that it was a "Rostoff speech," and "you know Rostoff does not know or care about the Afro-Asian mind."

These were facts that our President would not have wanted to hear, so they were concealed from him.

P.S. When supposedly very middle-of-the-road Balewa came to the UN, the press hopefully tried again and again to get a commitment on Berlin. "Self-determination in Africa, so why not in Berlin?" The Nigerian was unimpressed. Berlin, he said, represented a different situation and regretfully no headlines condemning Russia in Germany were made.

# World Backdrop

By Marguerite Cartwright

The Courier

**WOMEN, U. S. A.**

ACCORDING TO the latest Women's Bureau Handbook 36 per cent of all U. S. women of working age are employed. This constitutes one-third of the country's working force; half of these are over forty. One out of [illegible] attending college in the U. S. are also women.

■

**JOURNALISM, U. S. A.**

One of the best descriptions of a foreign correspondent I've yet seen: ("One with) a temperament that moves one usually to feel nostalgia for the place just left behind, optimism for the place ahead, and a restless discontent with the immediate environment." **(Better than Working,** by Patrick Skene).



Dr. Marguerite Cartwright

■

**PUERTO RICO**

While on the subject of books, a most entertaining and useful little book is Evalyn Marvel's **Guide to Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.** A must if you are going there, and quite good substitute if you are not. (Crown Publishers, New York).

■

**NIGERIA**

Just one more item on books: Many have asked for the best thing to read about this country, and my answer has generally been **Nigeria: Background to Nationalism.** (Dr. James Coleman, University of California Press). Recently I have come upon a shorter and equally useful volume written by a Nigerian. Title: **Constitutional Developments in Nigeria.** (Cambridge University Press). Dr. Kalu Ezera is the author, is U. S.-educated, and is currently teaching at the University in Nsukka. The title is unfortunate, as it tends to frighten people away. As an introductory history of that fascinating country, it is most useful, and while scholarly and well-documented, it is highly readable.

■

**SOUTHERN RHODESIA**

Writes my friend Josh Nkomo: "There is no doubt now that Southern Rhodesia is in a mess. The P. M. has lost control of a political situation which he helped to promote. Two years ago the Congress was banned and its leaders detained. Two are still in jail. In July, leaders of the National Democratic party were arrested. This was followed by a spontaneous disturbance during which white troops shot and killed many Africans. Shortly thereafter, the shameful vagrancy Bill was rushed through by the all-white Parliament. In three days the bill was law and soldiers were sent to occupy African townships. The police arrested 700 Africans within a week. It is now a crime not to be employed. Those dispossessed from their land are arrested as vagrants.

■

**COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, U. S. A.**

It was only recently that I heard of the Oral History Research Office, although it has been in existence since 1948. Its purpose is to gather data through oral interviews, using a tape recorder, material "which will be of interest to historians a century hence." A thousand or so people have been interviewed. Some of the contents of these interviews are available now, and some must be withheld until later. John Gunther based his work, **Taken at The Flood,** on Albert Lasker's Oral History memoir. President Kennedy's book, **The Strategy of Peace,** is a compilation of the then Senator's views. Edited by Allan Nevins, who is the originator of the idea, it is said that he gave the royalties of the Kennedy book to the project to continue the work. There appears to be no specific pattern used in getting interviews. This columnist was invited to be one: "You know a number of African leaders, and should have an interesting story to tell." So far, no interview.

■

**UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK**

A major tourist attraction in New York is the U. N. On an average day some 6,000 people enter the building, and at least half that number take the guided tour. The 40-story main building and others cost nearly 75 million dollars, including the new library now underway. The other buildings are the Secretariat, the Assembly, and the building containing the three council chambers and conference rooms. A 1,500-car garage is underneath. One unique aspect for a New York project of this kind is the fact that three-fourths of the 18-acre site is devoted to grass, trees, shrubs, and gardens.

World Backdrop By Marguerite Cartwright

The Courier

Pittsburgh Pa

QUITE FRANKLY, I like cops and I have a preference for live, healthy ones. This causes me to write this column.

The young man from Guinea who had difficulty with the Harlem police has gone home. Before this appears, the whole incident will have been forgotten, and perhaps it is better so.



Dr. Cartwright

Yet there is one thing that I find disconcerting. It is that our city has seemingly learned nothing from the unfortunate incident. All of the good press bastions of justice, from the **Herald Tribune** to the **New York Post,** even the radio, burst forth with editorials fully sanctioning the police behavior.

■

**EVEN MORE** serious, the city fathers, the Mayors, the Police Commissioner, all joined the anti-Collett, anti-African-diplomat crusade.

So much ill-tempered and emotional editorial and letter-to-the-editor opinion appeared that any counter-opinion one would normally express might be considered subversive.

Early it was vigorously set forth that no apology would be forthcoming. The African was ignominiously spirited out by his government in the dark of night.

Brave Patrolman O'Donnell was the hero of the hour. Obviously he should keep right on doing what he is doing. In the light of how the incident was handled, he has done no wrong — has every reason to feel proud of himself.

■

**M. COLLETT'S** wounds will heal, and he will undoubtedly be sent to another post, where he will try to forget. He will never know that, in one sense, he will have the last word after all.

In the emotional outbursts and clouds of whitewash, the real issue was never dealt with.

It is the safety and protection of hundreds of good police on the force, and why they do not secure public cooperation. The police need genuine advice as to how to perform their difficult, sensitive task of protecting life and property—including their own.

■

**THEIR SUPERIORS** seem either more interested in pandering to public prejudices, or they are abysmally ignorant of human relations. Their contribution has been to encourage bad police work, bid the police carry heavier sticks, strike first, and otherwise do battle.

This helps in the long run not at all. Better the reminder that aggression brings counter-aggression. They can get farther using their heads than their fists. They must behave in ways that deter potential rockhurlers from tenement roofs. This will save more police from injury than any of the advice about being tough.

One begins to wonder sometimes if there is genuine interest in the welfare of the police at all. Pandering to public indignation over the molestation of the police, encouraging violence, or letting them get away with wrong behavior, may sell newspapers, create a few police heroes like Patrolman O'Donnel, and provide the Commissioner with his day in the sun, but it also produces whole classes and generations of frustrated cop haters.

■

**WHEN THE POLICE** beat up minority groups and deprive them of their rights, especially Puerto Ricans, as they are regarded as defenseless, they make the streets more and more unsafe for themselves and their brother officers.

Is it not time for someone to remind the officials, as well as the police on the firing line, that every time they give in to the urge to administer revengeful anti-rule-book conduct, they make their job more difficult

Rather than cheering, the superiors, at least, should step up their efforts to train the police to "win the enemy to their side."

■

**NOT LONG AGO,** in the Chelsea District, a scrawny Puerto Rican was believed to have committed a particularly odious crime—the rape-murder of a small child. In the process of his arrest, he was unmercifully beaten, and the next morning he was dead on the floor of his jail cell. An amazingly brief investigation was made, and the perfunctory report was given in a couple of paragraphs on a back page of the newspaper.

The prisoner's death could have been the result of natural causes; the police were not to blame, it said. There was no protest. Even the Puerto Ricans were only too glad to forget the whole ugly business.

Incidentally, as citizens and voters, they have numbers. I'll never understand why the Puerto Ricans don't throw their weight around more. I cannot read Spanish, so I don't know if they have militant leaders and a militant press, but I wonder if they realize that the rights of even the ones among them they themselves hold in utmost contempt should be protected.

■

**ONE OF THE** most significant comments made during the Collet case was the claim that the police, hearing the diplomat speak a foreign language, "thought he was Spanish." (Did this mean that if he was Spanish it was OK to beat him?).

Years ago I used to do volunteer work in the courts. I (and others) heard a policeman boast that, whenever he apprehended "one of dem young Spic punks" in the commission of a crime, he would walk them to the station house past those old brownstone houses with the steep steps going down. He would give them a swift push, so that they'd land on their heads.

They'd be found the next morning, and the taxpayers would be saved some money.

# World Backdrop

By Marguerite Cartwright

EACH year Mrs. Golda Meir, Israel's foreign minister, is host at a luncheon given for the female delegates to the United Nations. As this distinguished former U.S. school teacher is a friend of mine, I have been included on her guest list, and have written about these luncheons many times, for they prove, for one thing, the superiority of women over men to form friendly relations for their respective nations.



Dr. Cartwright

The cold war differences in race, religion, foreign policy—all are forgotten on this one day a year. The event is, of course, also a tribute to the Israeli lady diplomat, for everyone she invites shows up.

Last year the luncheon occurred the day after my return to the U.S. from Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia, Ethiopia—all contributed their delegates, but not Nigeria. Spontaneously, in her introduction, Mrs. Meir noted that for the time being since I had just returned from Nigeria, I would "have to represent Nigeria."

■

**WITH GREAT** pride, I made a brief speech. However, I noted that this West African nation had a long tradition of female leadership. The mother of Nigeria's current foreign minister demanded her rights and participated in the Aba riots of 1929.

I mentioned Oxford-educated Aduhe Moore, lawyer, member of the board of Mobil Oil Explorations, Ltd., active civic worker, and socially prominent in Lagos, as another example.

When Nigeria's list of UN delegates was made known this year, it included, not just one (incidentally, the above-named Mrs. Moore), but another as well, and from the north! I have not yet met the northern delegate, but in Mrs. Moore one can be assured that the nation will be superbly represented.

She will take her place beside the distinguished Liberian, Ellen Scarborough, and more recently, the hard-working Angie Brooks, both of whom have caused high praises to be heaped upon their nation.

■

**LIBERIA**

**BY THE TIME** this appears the period of mourning for the great Liberian statesman-diplomat will have ended. I, for one, am pleased that I had the privilege of knowing this distinguished African statesman.

Africans in general and Liberians in particular have often seemed to be little interested in their historical roots, and it has long been my opinion that this has been, and will continue to be, a great loss to generations yet unborn.

An Afro-American scholar once said: "A people without a history is like a tree without roots." American Negroes have perhaps taken less pride in our African ethnic origin because we have been denied knowledge of its greatness.

I am happy that, on the occasion of my many visits to Monrovia, I took the opportunity to enrich my own knowledge of history as it was lived and seen through the eyes of this Liberian statesman, whose life and times should be a part of the historic heritage of all Liberian youth.

■

**SUCH, OF COURSE,** cannot be the case unless the country becomes more research conscious and aware of the fact that history, their history, has been and is being made by such personalities as the late Mr. King.

How I wish that I had tape recorded my long talks with him, or had kept more complete notes! God in His mercy saw fit to spare him beyond the three-score-and-ten mark, and he is well known to many who will be around in the years to come.

I have tried, without success, to stimulate interest in the creation of biographical and historical material to be used at least by young people in Liberian schools. I have offered, personally, to set up such a project, although I can understand why the Government may feel this should be done by a local scholar. On the other hand, someone from the outside would not suffer from being "too close to the forest to see the trees."

**MY FIRST** proposal was for a young people's edition of Liberia's distinguished ex-President, his life and precepts, to be used in the schools. My second, the contribution of Liberia to the United Nations. Now my third, the rich, full life of Charles D. B. King.

Prominent figures supplied me with written statements as to their endorsement of such a project, but the Government undoubtedly and understandably perhaps, feels that other needs should receive priority. The suggestion was made that the matter be taken up with business friends of Liberia, such as Messrs. Christie, Firestone, et. al., but they also rejected the idea. One can only hope that some day they or others will reconsider.

I should perhaps add that the offer of my own services still holds. Should this be seriously considered by others, I'll gladly make available the beginnings I have made.

# World Backdrop

By Marguerite Cartwright

**PRESIDENT'S VISIT 18 PT.**

BY THE TIME this appears, many references to President Tubman in the United States will have been published. For reasons previously noted, I took especial interest in the visit, and on the morning of his arrival, rose early to attend his first scheduled press conference. However, it was learned that the hour had been changed to later that afternoon.



Dr. Cartwright

Undaunted, I returned and was present when the jaunty, dignified African leader strode in. Heavy seas had held up his arrival, but now he would read a formal statement and then would be at the disposal of the assembled press.

The questions were detailed and penetrating. What was he going to discuss with Mr. Kennedy? ("Matters affecting the economic and social development of our two countries.")

**WHAT OF** the deportation of the Ghanaian second secretary and U.A.R. Chargé d'Affaires? ("We discovered agents who were holding meetings subversive in character, setting forth the idea that our Government could be more quickly developed by the adoption of Socialist patterns . . . We were loath to believe that this was with the approval and knowledge of their respective governments. Thus, they were not found **persona non grata** . . . just sent home.")

Questions concerning the selection of one to follow Dag Hammarskjold brought forth replies which showed that Mr. Tubman had had legal training and his familiarity with the UN Charter. ("The Charter prescribes how such persons should be chosen.")

This was followed by what the Charter did not state, and what had caused the current impasse. He did not subscribe to the "troika" idea. There should be one administrative officer, "not one, two, three, four or five," he said.

This was followed by the tired, old, ever-present inquiry concerning racial discrimination in the U. S. While noting that this was an internal domestic problem, the President stated his emphatic opposition to racial discrimination in any form. It was "inhuman, diabolical and iniquitous," he said.

■

**HE WAS** asked if he he'd noted improvement in this regard. (He had.) This suggested an incident which happened when he had made an earlier visit to this country. He recalled that he went to the Russell Uniform Company to make a purchase and he was told that uniforms could not be sold to Negroes without prior approval from the War Department. "But I am an African," he told them. On learning that he was not a U. E. Negro, the company agreed to the sale.

President Tubman called for freedom and self-determination for Algeria, the Portuguese colonies, and "everywhere in the world." He promised that investors in his country need "have no fear of exappropriation or any other form of unreasonable interference . . ."

Prior to the Press Conference, President Tubman had been Mr. Stevenson's guest at a private luncheon. The next stop was the reception given by Mayor Wagner. I was able to join the motorcade and accompany the large party.

■

**HERE WERE** assembled prominent New Yorkers, community leaders and the official family. Cardinal Spellman and Bernard Baruch, the elder statesman and advisor to Presidents, were there.

Following this was a dinner given by Harvey Firestone, and a sitting for a portrait. It was a long day, and everyone seemed to be weary, but not the President. The next morning I phoned press secretary Fahnbulleh at seven, as he had suggested. I apologized for having awakened him. "It's OK," he said, 'I've been up with the President since six."

■

**UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA**

From the London Illustrated News, I clipped the formal group portrait of the first South African Cabinet. (I suppose, subconsciously, I wanted to stick pins it it.)

Of the 16 hard-faced men, not one appeared to be under 60. No new Frontier there, and one wonders if the Government were in the hands of younger men, would they be less tyrannical.

■

**GERMANY**

**AMONG THE** wonders of Germany, the office interview "time-checker" should be included. Resembling an oversized egg-timer divided into four parts, the sand runs through each part, dividing the visit into four periods: No. 1, introduction; No. 2, To the point; No. 3, Please hurry up, and No. 4, Goodbye.

The 12-minute interview had now ended. For busy people who are plagued with visitors who come to offices and don't seem to know when to leave, it should be a marvelous time-saver.

NEGRO ( DAN DAY)

31a 1961

# Capital Spotlight

By Dan Day

## Greenberg To Argue La. Sitdown Cases

WASHINGTON — It is predicted that few, if any, complaints will result from the appointment last week of scholarly Jack Greenberg as successor to Thurgood Marshall in the post of director-general of the NAACP Legal and Educational Fund.

As Mr. Marshall's principal assistant, Mr. Greenberg, 37, a native New Yorker who graduated from Columbia College and the Columbia University Law School, has devoted 12 of his 13 years professional legal career to the work of the fund.

He has worked indefatigably on virtually every major civil rights case in which the NAACP has participated.

CAPITOL HILL remembers the brilliant manner in which the Harlan Fiske Stone scholar argued the 1954-55 school desegregation cases before the Supreme Court.

Other cases on which he has worked are those involving the right of admission to professional and graduate schools in the South, abolition of housing discrimination, defense of youths convicted in sit-in demonstrations, and the right to travel unsegregated on both intrastate and interstate systems.

Next week, the Supreme Court will get another sampling of his brilliant legal mind when he appears before it on Wednesday, Oct. 18, to argue the defense of 16 students convicted in the 1960 sit-ins in Baton Rouge, La.

• • •

**DR. LAWRENCE A. DAVIS**, president of Arkansas M and N College. Pine Bluff, and Dr. Solomon Hill, president of Shorter College, Little Rock, Ark., were in the Capital last week to attend the Oct. 5-6 orientation meeting of information experts for the Department of Stabilization and Conservation Service.

Also present for the same conference were Joseph Bradford, assistant editor of the Alabama Agricultural Extension Service, Tuskegee, Ala.; the Rev. Dr. Walter Miller, pastor of Jubilee C.M.E. Church, Chicago; and the Rev. Benjamin Hill, pastor of the Tulsa (Okla.) A.M.E. Church.

Mr. Bradford has completed the requirements for a doctorate in mass communication and will be awarded the degree at the University of Wisconsin's June convocation.

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**THE REV. WYATT TEE WALKER**, of Atlanta, director of planning operations for the massive voter registration drive launched two weeks ago in Nashville by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, addressed the all-university service at Howard University on Sunday.

James C. Evans, of Charleston, W. Va., counsellor on manpower matters for Secretary of Defense McNamara, was guest lecturer last week at the Defense Department's Military Assistance Institute in Arlington, Va.

Lt. Col. Edward C. Mitchell, of Cincinnati, recent 20-year retiree from the army, has been added to the Pentagon staff of the Defense Department Comptroller.

Recognized as an outstanding financial and fiscal expert, Col. Mitchell has 12 years experience in army comptroller activities in the Far East, Europe and Washington.

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**THE AMBASSADOR** of Nigeria, Julius Momo Udochi and Mrs. Udochi celebrated a double birthday occasion last week: the first anniversary of Nigeria's independence, and the birth of a son, at George Washington University Hospital. Their other children are Fred, aged 2, and Oleera, aged 8.

Chaplain (1st Lt.) John A. Deveaux, Jr., of Jacksonville, Fla., and Rutherford, N.J., the son of retired army Chaplain (Col.) John A. Deveaux, was recently assigned to the Army Engineer Center at Fort Belvoir, Va.

# Capital Spotlight

By Dan Day

## Fluctuating Wildly

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — The barometer of race relations was fluctuating wildly at week's end.

Postmaster General J. Edward Day, already a No. 1 project for Capital newsmen, returned to the headlines when he accepted a hint from President Kennedy and toned down his public statement critical of the worth of letter carrier W. W. Law.

But Mr. Day's severest critic, the NAACP's Clarence Mitchell, termed the new pitch "a cheap way to respond to the gracious actions of the President," and Chairman Olin D. Johnston (D-S.C.) said the firing and rehiring ruckus will be investigated by his Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

• • •

**SECRETARY** of Defense Robert S. McNamara went galloping off into headline space when he sat tight on plans to deliver a "major address" at a "white man's" dinner in Atlanta Saturday night.

The brainchild of Robert Troutman, member of the President's Commission on Equal Employment Opportunities, the dinner honored Sen. Richard B. Russell and Rep. Carl Vinson, both Georgia Democrats.

Protests poured in from the NAACP, the American Veterans Committee, the United States National Student Association, and a host of others. The White House press corps gave Presidential Press Secretary Pierre Salinger a rough going - over Friday, when they fired questions at him about the New Frontier's "established policy" regarding non - attendance by officials at segregated affairs.

Mr. Salinger said he was standing by a statement he made the previous day in which he tossed the "hot potato" to the Defense Department.

The Republicans added to the mercurial situation when officials announced Wednesday that colored Georgians would be welcome at a $25-a-place dinner in an Atlanta hotel on Nov. 17. They declared that this had no connection with the McNamara bias row, because the decision was made before the protests hit the Pentagon.

• • •

**IN THE RACE** to make hay with civil rights, veteran labor leader A. Philip Randolph said in Chicago Thursday that he had abandoned hope that the AFL - CIO (of which he is the only colored vice president) can rid itself of racial discrimination.

Mr. Randolph's solution to problem: Federal legislation requiring unions with racist policies to drop them. Observers predict a further widening of the rift between the president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the AFL-CIO's top echelon.

As the number of restaurants, agreeing to admit all travellers, along Route 40 in Maryland and Delaware neared 50, the Congress of Racial Equality canceled its gigantic Freedom Ride set for Nov. 11. But CORE said it would stage the ride Dec. 15 if the rest did not fall in line.

• • •

**MEANWHILE, IN AN** entirely different climate, the Professional Golfers Association on Thursday dropped its "Caucasian Clause" from its constitution. Co - sponsors of the resolution eliminating the bar: the Georgia - Alabama section of PGA. However, colored golfers already held "de facto recognition" in PGA since three (among them, Charles Sifford of Los Angeles) have already participated in PGA tournaments in the South.

Otherwise: Only the announcement is needed to make official the appointment of Sherman Briscoe, public relations expert for the Agriculture Department since 1941, as assistant to USDA director of personnel, Carl B. Barnes.

A graduate of Southern University, with a doctorate due soon from American University, Mr. Briscoe will have responsibility for personnel recruitment and public relations "across the board."

On the distaff side, Dr. Rosa L. Gragg, president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, and Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee of the National Council of Negro Women, told the executive board of B'nai B'rith Thursday that they have been so dedicated to the cause of peace that they haven't gotten around to plans for fall-out shelters yet. Dr. Ferebee was representing NCNW president Dorothy Height.

Dr. C. Eric Lincoln, professor of philosophy at Clark College, Atlanta, will address the all - university service at Howard University on Sunday, Nov. 19.

31a 1961

# Wanted: More Negro Scholars

Atlanta Daily World
March 23, 1961

Dean Gordon Hancock, a weekly columnist, in these pages lamented a few days ago the fact that Negro scholars were not in enough evidence; that degree men need to more effectively implement their degreeism. The Dean also gave an exposure as relates to the Rockefeller Foundation's not giving in 1960 any money to badly needing Negro institutions, while lavishing millions on white universities that needed no assistance.

While such a policy much resembles an old Biblical injunction: "To him that hath shall be given and to him that hath not shall be taken away—even that which he seems to have" — there is a bit of irony in such a wide departure from a former practice. Dean Hancock would charge this failure of Negro high degree material to measure up to the standard of scholarship. In other words, he stated that the increasing number of the highly degreed was not increasing Negro scholars in a like proportion. He further states: "Fifty years ago high degrees among Negroes were rare and matters of great note; today if one shakes a bush, a highly degreed Negro would run out."

While the latter statement would fall in the area of slang, it nevertheless can find proof in the lack on the part of our group to produce technical textbook material and scientific magazines which thousands of white scholars are collaborating in every year.

Again, seldom one comes upon less than a baker's dozen of these high degree men occupying professorships in our leading colleges, who are the authors of the books taught in their courses. It would be highly embarrassing if a student after class walks up to the professor in sociology and asks in what volume in the Sociology Journal would there be found a treatise of his authorship on "Social Forces," "Social Distance," or the impact of "Folkways," to be told that he had made no such contribution.

To quote our contemporary further, "In almost every field of learning Negroes must rely upon the findings of whites, many whom are still prejudiced in the field of race relations, an important field in our Twentieth Century world."

Dean Hancock then comes to the conclusion: "It is safe then to say that our Negro colleges and universities were by-passed in 1960 because they had no new worthwhile projects going."

While we do not have the necessary proof to go the length with Dean Hancock, we find ourselves in agreement when he challenges the Negro degree people to take their high degrees more seriously. We also believe there is room for more Negro creative scholars; that these high geared specialists should put their energies and learning to the creative arts and help write the textbooks that are being taught in the schools from elementary on through the graduate work. These educators owe this plain duty to their profession and they have ample time in fellowships to do the research requisite to these compilations.

Yes, Negro scholars in by-gone days wrote textbooks, hymnals and sermons with few or no degrees. It stands to reason that our learned degree men and women should in this enlightened day come to the rescue and help write some of these modern day textbooks and magazine articles.

NEGRO (DEAN GORDON HANCOCK)

## BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Journal and Guide p-8
Sat. 4-22-61 Norfolk, Va

# US Wasting Energy To Keep Segregation

31a Negro

By GORDON B. HANCOCK

SOME DAYS AGO the writer was sitting in the reception room of the Richmond Redevelopment and Housing Authority, and noticed upon the wall a beautiful architectural drawing of Fairfield Courts, a projected development for Negroes. Fairfield Courts has now been completed and has proved a blessing to thousands of Negroes who hitherto had been huddled in the ghettoes and slums about the city. There can be no doubt that the living lot of Negroes has been improved immensely. Then near the great Fairfield Courts are the Creighton Courts, another great housing development for Negroes. But long before these beautiful courts were built, the Armstrong High School had been moved to the East End and then came the "courts" of one kind or another to surround Armstrong with Negroes, and in all thousands and tens of thousands of Negroes have been forced into the East End by the housing patterns established by the Housing Authority.



DR. HANCOCK

## Segregation Extended

We have in this development not only better housing for Negroes, but we have established here a hardening of segregation lines that means the indefinite perpetuation of segregation and all that goes with it. Whether such master planning was mainly motivated by segregation or Negro welfare we have no way of knowing, but of its effectiveness there can be no question.

With the Negro committed to resisting segregation and the limitations thereof and with segregation being more firmly established, we can easily see how great must be the expenditure of mental energies that are in the offering. What is going on in Richmond, is going on to a greater or lesser degree throughout the country. And when we observe the phenomenon as a national matter, we can get some idea of the great amount of mental energies that have been spent on the matter of segregation and the vagaries thereof.

It is safe to say that ways and means of segregation and opposition to it mean a great diversion of the nation's mental energies which are needed to hurl back the rising tide of communism. The point being made here is, we are not in an international position where we can dissipate our energies on segregation and its perpetuation, when the larger task of national survival is demanding our all. This writer is not happy over the way the dictators of Russia and Red China and Cuba are throwing their weight around in this Twentieth Century world.

## U. S. On Defensive

They seem to be trying to bully our great nation and this writer takes no pleasure in seeing our nation bullied by Khrushchev and Mao and Castro. From a casual or serious perusal of the press one gets the feeling that we are on the defensive.

Wherever it is a matter of give and take with the Communists, we seem inclined to "give" while Communists dictators "take". It should be made clear that the desire for peace is a two-way matter, and it should be made increasingly clear that we are not more desirous of peace than the communist powers, for once it becomes clear to the communists that we are more desirous of peace than they, they are bound to rub our noses in the sand.

It would therefore be a wise and profitable thing if this country awakens to the fact that the time is at hand when the wasting of our mental energies in the perpetuation of segregation and the evils thereof must stop.

Our national survival is at stake, and some of the far-reaching thinking done on segregation must be done on ways and means of stopping Khrushchev and Mao and Castro in their avowed determination to take over. If the energies that have been wasted on segregation had been channeled constructively, we possibly would never have lost the great international advantage that was ours at the conclusion of World War I.

# LANGSTON HUGHES

## Week By Week

# Simple At The Golden Gate

"You know," said Simple, "last night I drempt I died and went to heaven and that old Governor Patterson of Mississippi, Alabama, or Georgia or where he is from, had got there before me, and didn't want to let me in. Old Patterson was standing at the Golden Gate, right beside Saint Peter. When I come ghosting up, he said, 'What are you doing here? Don't you know you have to use the rear entrance.'

"'What rear entrance?' I says.

"'The COLORED ENTRANCE,' says Old Governor, 'which is around the back.'

"I said, 'I did not know heaven was located in the South. I thought it was UP not DOWN. Saint Peter, do you hear the man?'

"Saint Peter said, 'Heaven is so full of white folks now I have no control over it any more.'

"I said, 'How did so many white folks get to heaven, Saint?'

"Old Peter said, 'Jesse B. Semple, I do not know, but they is here.'

"'I did not realize I was in hell,' I said. 'I thought when I riz through space from my dying bed, I had landed at the Gate of Heaven. Anyway, Peter is not my sins washed whiter than snow? Am I not white now inside and out?'

"Whereupon, Old Downhome Governor spoke up and said, 'You have to bathe in the River of Life to be washed whiter than snow. The River of Life is in heaven. You are not in yet, Simple. Therefore, you are still black. White is right, black get back. You are not coming in the front entrance.'

"I said, 'It is too bad I left my weapons down on earth. I am not a Freedom Rider, neither a Sit-In Kid. The two cheeks I have to turn have done been turned enough. "They shall turn no m o r e! You-all better get out of my way and lemme through this Golden Gate.'

"Saint Peter begun to wring his hands. He said, "I better go call Gabriel. He is one of your folks. He can explain to you how things is up here since white folks took over.'

"I said, 'Call Gabriel, nothing! If you gonna call anybody call God.'

"'God is busy with Laos, West Berlin, and NATO,' said Peter.

"'I did not know God's name was Kennedy,' I said. "Besides, I am as much angel as you now, Peter. If you and old Gov. there don't get out of my way and let me in this gate, I will take my left wing and slap you both down. Then I will take my right wing and whail you good.'

"'But, Jesse B., we go in for non-violence in heaven,' cried Peter.

"'I am not in heaven, yet,' says I, 'only on the threshold. But if I don't get in, it won't be because I didn't try. Where is Old Governor gone at?'

"'He has run to call his dogs,' said Peter.

"'You mean to tell me, you let Southern white folks and their dogs both in heaven,' I asked. 'What is the sky coming to? Earth were bad enough. Maybe the Lord sent for me to clean up heaven. In which case, wait a minute.

"I will ghost back to earth and round up my boys, the Muslims, the Now Now, and the Buy Blacks—also Robert Williams from Monroe, North Carolina. I will ask them are you willing to die for your rights in heaven as on earth? If so, die now, make ghosts out of yourselves, and come with me. There is discrimination at the Golden Gate. White folks have done got up there and made an American out of Saint Peter. They done set up a kennel of police dogs beside the River Jordan. They put up WHITE ONLY signs at the milk and honey counter. Mens, do you intend to stand for this? Whereupon, from their stepladders on every corner in Harlem they will answer, NO! Peter, I'll bet this Golden Gate will open then. We'll see! We'll see!'

"Whiz-zzz-zz-z! But when I ghosted back to earth, I fell plunk in my bed and woke up kicking and sweating, and found out that it were nothing but a dream. I were not dead at all—just having nightmares in my sleep. It is a good thing, because had my dream been real, I would of tore up that Golden Gate! Plumb up! White folks can run hell, if they want to, but they better not start no stuff in the Glory Land."

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Birmingham World

Birmingham, Ala.

Sat. 3-18-61

....Teaching is the profession upon which all others depend", declared Dr. Truman Pierce, dean of Auburn University, in discussing the revised teacher training program at Auburn.

**Teachers, the teaching profession, schools and curriculumn have come into for heavy and recurrent discussion. Teaching is a vital factor in the social revolution which is sweeping the world today.**

In a recent interview, as presented by a recent edition of Look Magazine, Attorney General Robert Kennedy lashed out against those who help to "perpetuate a vast disparity of opportunity for white and Negro group."

**No where has this disparity been more visible and obvious than in the public school system. Unequal teaching makes for unequaled preparedness. When you hear members of the teaching profession referring to unequally taught youth as not being "ready try to call up the idea that poor teachers poorly prepare those who come to them for instruction, guidance, and inspiration.**

Dualism does not of itself produce equalism. The dual school system is often inherently an unequal school system. Those who are weakest at the polls most often suffer more severely at the appropriation centers.

**There is a move on foot to accredit systems rather than schools. It will be interesting to see what the Alabama State Teachers Association has to say about this idea in its statement of principles at its 78th annual session which ended March 17 in Montgomery.**

There is a paradox in the teaching profession. In one section of this profession are reports of a shortage of teaching talent. In the other division there are reports that the teaching profession is overcrowded. Dual school systems tend to throw out of balance the teacher supply. When you tamper with free enterprise, capitalism, and individualism. That is something which needs to be emphasized to the state's righters.

**on to The Tip Off a communication which should be of interest to those in the overcrowded division of teaching professions. Here it is:**

**TEACHER FOR EAST AFRICA**

"As part of the United States effort to help meet the educational needs of the free world, a program has been set in motion to provide 150 young Americans to teach in East African secondary schools. The major responsibility for this project has been assigned by the International Cooperation Administration to Teachers College, Columbia University. The teachers to elected will comprise the following two categories:

(1) About 50 young teachers who hold at least a bachelor's degree, are professionally trained and qualified. and have had some experience in secondary school teaching.

(2) About 100 young liberal arts or teachers college graduates without teaching experience beyond practice teaching.

All participants in the program will receive a pre-orientation course at Teachers College in New York City beginning June 26, 1961. The experienced teachers will then be sent to Makerere College in Kampala, Uganda about July 15, 1961, for one to three month further orientation and training, after which they will be assigned to secondary schools in the four territories of British East Africa (Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar).

Other terms of the program are as follows:

CONTRACT: Each participant in the program will sign an agreement to serve two years as a teacher in an East African secondary school to which he is assigned following completion of the orientation period.

SALARY: During the pre-teaching period all trainees will receive their travel expenses, accommodation, and subsistence in the residence halls of Makerere College. Those assigned to teaching posts will receive the normal salaries for "expatriate" teachers in the territories concerned. These salaries are about $2800 to $3000 a year depending on qualifications.

MARTIAL STATUS: Unmarried candidates (male or female) and married couples in which both the husband and wife are teachers are preferred. Married couples in which only one partner is a teacher are not excluded.

TEACHING FIELDS: The distribution of positions among the subject fields is not yet finally tabulated, but applications are particularly being sought from well qualified candidates in English, history, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology.

"Candidates selected for the program must be in good health and must be personally resourceful and imaginative in dealing with unexpected or difficult situations. They must be capable of working with new situations, new associations, new friends. They must be able to cooperate with Africa in educating itself. They must be animated by a spirit of service that is realistic not sentimental, by a spirit of adventure that is durable not romantic. They must be knowledgeable about American life and education and ready to learn understandingly about the people of other lands.

"If you feel you can meet these qualifications and would like to play a part in the shaping of a new international role for young American educators, please request an application blank from:

**Teachers for East Africa**
**Teachers College, Columbia University**
**New York 27, New York**

"Every effort will be made to process applications, conduct interviews, and notify successful candidates by May 1, or sooner.

# THE TIP-OFF

Birmingham's World

Birmingham, Ala.

Sat 4-22-61

By EMORY O. JACKSON

About a year ago there was voices and feeble action behind what was launched as "Negro Trade Week," in Birmingham.

**Behind the idea was, in one place, inspiration for reviving the Greater - Birmingham Negro Business League or building a new organization roughly of its design. Another idea was to stir interest among us who own, operate or make our living in Negro owned business to visit another and too wide appreciation of our business ability.**



Some of us even looked around for something which Negro - owned business might do in the job-creating area and serving as a connecting link for those who had the talent, training and mind to venture into the bigger stream of economic life.

**Against such battered idealism and butchered hope one must still keep the faith that the idea was sound and that the project had merit. Negro - owned business is not worked into the general trade promotions and is absent from the membership seats of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce.**

That brings us up to something else. Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity is sponsoring its annual "Bigger and Better Business Week" program at New Pilgrim Baptist Church Sunday afternoon, April 23. It will be interesting to see whether either of the fellows, "Bigger" or "Better" will show up on this day.

**Should the thing run to the local pattern even some of those calling themselves members of "Greek organizations" won't be around. Yet in a more serious vein it seems that when a group using its own dough goes out to try to help you that enlightened selfishness, if nothing more, would motivate positive response. Such might operate against the Birmingham pattern.**

While back theer was talk of Birmingham being our group's civic capital of Alabama. Yet Mobile has edged steadily out front by the marksticks of progress.

**On April 15, "The New Crusader," a Chicago, Ill., weekly which is often unorthodox in its presentations, report on "How Does Integration Effect Negro Business?"**

..That is a question which is often raised in the reverse in the South. Some even try to associate the presence of Negro owned business in the South as evidence that compulsory racial segregation is an economic benefit to this segment. Severity of treatment, others observe, has a tendency to bring about a type of cooperation of convenience.

**Here are some of the points raised by the Chicago panel as reported by "The New Crusader."**

"1. Since acceptance of Negro patrons in down town restaurants, no first rate eating place can exist in the Negro community."

"2. A first rate hotel cannot exist in the Negro community."

"3. No longer can a first rate Negro group be persuaded to be served food in the Negro community."

**"4. No longer will any top ranking conference or convention agree to holding its meeting in the Negro community."**

"5 So-called Negro business leaders who must get their patronage 100 per cent from the Negro community, and should know better, criticize others for not supporting their enterprises while they themselves, are not only refusing to cooperate with others in promoting community projects but also are encouraging others to go elsewhere."

Now these few ideas are being passed down to those in Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity to get the discussion going about "Bigger and Better Negro Business."

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

TUSCALOOSA, Ala. — (SNS) — The school has a device in the all-sports banquet in which it can do both mass teaching to its students and community teaching to the adults who are its patrons.

**Druid High School gave its Annual All - Sports Banquet in the school cafeteria Wednesday night, May 3. The two featured speakers, Dr. H. B. Wilson, head basketball coach of Jackson College, located in the state capital of Mississippi and L. V. Coleman, chief coach at Stillman College, in this city where the Ku Klux Klan is reportedly active, made contributions.**



Had parents and other community figures filled the used banquet tables, they would have been in a position to hear talks which would help them. Dr. Wilson's message was a direct, simple, friendly talk about life, its meaning, and certain guide lessons for making the best of it. He illustrated his message with personal stories, plucked from the biography of Abraham Lincoln, and focused the spotlight on the coach of the team which won the title of the national prep basketball championship to drive home his points.

**Coach Coleman utilized the occasion to blast the evildoers in sports and to remind the banqueters that there is nothing wrong with the sports. The bad things revealed in sports are merely bad people misusing sports, he said in substance.**

In another aspect, the program contained valuable data about the players, the schools participation in sports, the records and a scantized biographical record of the coaches.

**The social aspect of the event was inspiring. The athletes came attired in a manner which added an uplifting tone to the affair. It reflected some of the refinement and quality noted at the recent Charity Ball and Concert sponsored by the Birmingham Chapter of the Frontiers of America.**

Yet there were reports that a few hours before the banquet some pranksters had made some tossings which left some window glasses broken. Such as that needs to be known by the community fathers, by the parents, and by those all of those who yearn and dream of an America which offers every one life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

**One of the awards went to Clifton Lewis, president of the Druid High School sudent council, who has not missed a day out of school the 12 years he has been going to school. An award also was given to Syrup "Lavender," manager of a community baseball team, who is an outstanding supporter of the school's athletic program.**

Several business men donated trophies in appreciation of the educational work done by Druid High through its interscholastic sports program. Players saluted their coaches with trophies.

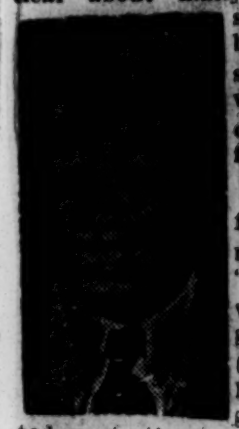
**Most of the graduating athletes indicated that they plan o go to college. Sports at Druid seem to serve as an incentive for further study. Additionally athletics can serve as the hub around which the community is brought together for its own good. Better understanding and to find a creative purpose, it seems to me.**

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Alabama's bad conduct in freedom as related to American citizens, college-trained, dedicated, and determined is now a scandal in hate so awful that the pages of history are likely to burn in fury in trying to relate it.

**The ugly actors in the hate dramas in Anniston, Birmingham, and Montgomery seem to have competed with each other who could perform the worst against the "Freedom Riders." I remain skeptical about many things. Effort seemed to have been made to shield some of us who did not do our best and our full duty.**



It was clear from the beginning that the "Freedom Riders" were not going to get complete protection in Alabama. The suggestion of restricted protection was the give way.

**Certain things can and should be done. It should be made clear that our nation is governed by laws rather than by customs. Secondly, it should be emphasized that the law has been recently interpreted regarding the rights and privileges of travellers. Third, those who cut over communication should feel a sense of self-guilt. Freedom participation should be the condition for community communication.**

I am reproducing this editorial as a part of this column:

**The Montgomery Advertiser**
**May 19, 1961**
**"THE GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA A MOB LEADER?"**

"Does John Patterson, governor, aspire to become a mob leader? Whether he desires it or not, his statements are making him so."

**"In his Wednesday press conference, Patterson talked as the Grand Dragon of the Kluxers has talked."**

"It was nearly, but not quite, unbelievable that a Governor of Alabama could so far forget himself as to seem to invoke lawlessness."

**"The people of the United States cannot construe Patterson's utterance as other than enthronement of lawlessness in Alabama."**

"This is the kind of dereliction of duty for which a sheriff might be impeached."

**"It is not only permitting the lynchers to drag the prisoner from the jail, as it were, but actually suggesting they do so."**

"Patterson's statements are vicious in their injury to good order and prosperity in the State of Alabama. Otherwise, Patterson slaps himself into the brace of a sap when he makes such a gaudy display of joining a raid on a dice table shack in the name of civic purity and then licenses the mob to do its bloody work!"

**"All of us are deeply offended by the self-righteous intrusion of the agitaters and the interventio\ Patterson's old buddy, Bobby Kennedy. But inspiring mob action is no defense against agitation, it is that which feeds it."**

"The mob fell upon one gaggle of agitators. The result of this was that before the boob cheers died a second gaggle came sprinting into the open arms of Alabama martyrdom. This could get to be a fad like collegians pushing beds from state to state."

**"We can't act as nursemaids to agitators," said Patterson. "They'll stay home when they learn nobody is there to protect them."**

"In short, the Governor of Alabama has told the cockeyed world that Alabama on occasion is to be converted into a lawless arena that might even include murder on the card."

**"The Advertiser is not concerned about nursemaids for the agitators.**


# THE TIP-OFF

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# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

It is still hard to believe that the Reverend Robert W .Hayden, the 48-year-old, Mississippi-born, minister and business man has answered the final call.

**In a short life span he built two churches in Birmingham, reached the top of his denomination, and combined two schools of thought in church pastoring. He was a working minister who held down a full-time business job which could have been enough to**



**ministry of the Church in Alabama. He had left the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the stormy days of the AME Zion mixer, happy-hearted, to-day, and modern. He was the life of off social activities. He did not out himself minister he did his family. As a sustain him and** ama. Yet he kept abreast of A. M. E. activities, apparently had good informational contacts, but never expressed any bitterness toward the church, at least in the presence of this columnist. He seemed to have regarded himself as an example of what could be accomplished by those who found new ways of protecting against practices they did not like and saw no other way to correct.

**In the summer when his church was host to a youth conference of his denomination I was among the guests. We chatted in his pastoral study, at the table in the diningroom, and in his automobile as he brought me back to the downtown. It was the first time I had really gone through the church building. I was impressed with the plant and talked with him about what community services it seemed to me a church could render which was located and situated like Metropolitan Community Church.**

In speaking on what I called "Beyond the Sit Ins" I had dealt lightly with the matured civic-service leadership and made a fighting challenge to the pulpit to implement the gospel they preached. Also I had needled the Rev. Hayden in that speech to break away and follow Jesus. My idea was that the teachings of Jesus Christ are too often being diluted, misapplied an ddamaged because of a Jim Crow ideology and idolatry a number of Christian churches with white memberships left undone the real mission of the Christian faith.

But it was in those rough days of the Birmingham Branch of the NAACP when I was serving as secretary and the Rev. Hayden which I remember with so much satisfaction. It had become a hard task to find NAACP leadership in this city. For the NAACP has changed it's emphasis from trying to obtain the equality of opportunity within the separate but equal framework to seeking to overturn that concept. Machinery had been set up to try to open the doors of the University of Alabama to Negro students. Then came the case in which Miss Pollie Myers and Juanita A. Lucy figured prominently.

**It is still vivid and fresh in my memory the crucial conference we held in the insurance office of the Rev. Hayden. Neither of us until this day has disclosed fully many of the details. It was in this conference that he rose to the challenge of wise leadership and performed in a way which spared some of Birmingham's finest leadership of a bad time. it seems to me. Rev. Hayden had known stormy days and he was no fair-weather leader. Often I kidded him that anyone who had the nerve to fight an A. M. E. bishop should have the courage to fight racial segregation.**

In those days when voter-registration emphasis was based in the various communities it was my observation that the church had the most reliable leadership. As a matter of fact I was, in a way, recuited from the Sunday School for service in the NAACP. For I found a close kinship between civil rights and Christian service. Rev. Hayden quietly included voter-registration work in the program of his church.

This is not a column which tries to evaluate the Rev. Hayden. It is a rather personal or subjective piece. There is no other way for me to try to write about him. This column of appreciation.

**He was often the testing target of my ideas which I felt needed the cleansing value of discussion. He always impressed me as industrious and a challenger of opportunity. He would carefully drop the expression, "you know, I work for my living."**

When Editor C. A. Scott of Atlanta, Ga. spoked at the annual banquet last year of the Abraham Lincoln Republican Club I kidded the Rev. Hayden by the GOP-ers. He seemed o have enjoyed the occasion immensely and obviously had made an exacting effort to attend. He seemed to be a hard worker, and at times overworked.

**It would be interesting to see what his critics would write about him if I lent them the Tip Off.**

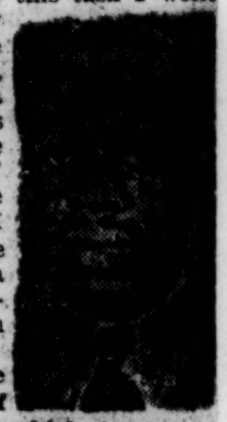
# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

This is one of those throw-together columns. It has been planned but not researched to give it the tightness, the neat fit, and factual freshness that could brighten it.

**Two approaching events had inspired this undertaking. On Thursday night, January 12, the Birmingham Grid Forecasters will place on display some grid achievements. The second week of February will be celebrated as Negro History Week, at least by some.**

In approaching this task I went back to the essay Margaret Face Farmer, entitled, "History as a Hobby" which is published "The Alabama Review',' July, 1960. She says, in part: "I see the lure of history as a passion, sometimes even an addiction."



**For me there is too little of the local history which is already made which is written. There is no history of the Jefferson County Athletic Association which casts light on the organizations from its roots in the Greater Birmingham Interscholastic Athletics Association through its transformation as the Jefferson County Negro Athletic Association and to its maturing as the JCAA. In those three title changes lies a story glittering strivings ,techniques of survival, and adjustment to vital changes.**

"A history book", Miss Farmer observes, "is like a magnifying glass laid upon the past."

**How can one look back on the long, rocky, and often stormy sports road our schools, our communities ,our athletes have traveled without the "magnifying glass" of written, record, and preserved history? How many school libraries keep scrapbooks on their school activities as a source of raw history for the hobby or amateur historian? History-writing defies racial discrimination, it seems to me.**

Miss Farmer says further: "History concerns itself basically with human relationships and human significance." The Tenth Annual All-Sports Banquet, in a way, will point up the idea of "human significance." and also human dignity. History tends to illuminate human dignity, it seems to me. Where can one find a better example of "human relationships" than in sports?

**The JCAA has given dignity to school sports, It has given class to organization and put a floor on standards and set goals of scholarship, sportsmanship, and humanship. Reports coming to The Tip Off say that the JCAA coaches have inspired high level scholarship and that the quality of competition has improved.**

There are 18 high schools from two counties and five different school systems included in the membership of the JCAA. Two of the six education systems in Jefferson County do not have high schools which enroll Negro students. The Mountain Brook School System is all-white and the Tarrant School System sponsors only a junior high school which is open to the Negro group. One JCAA member, Prentice High School, is located at Montevallo, in Shelby School.

**The JCAA is a member of the Alabama Interscholastic Athletic Association, which is an affiliate of the Alabama State Teachers Association. This gives prestige, status and a type of oblique authority to the AIAA affiliates. I am not sure whether the AIAA any of its affiliates have recognition from the various boards of education. This, however, is a ticklish problem.**

There are three general levels where sports awards are made in the JCAA jurisdiction. The association makes sports awards itself. The Health Bowl Classic Committee bestows some tokens of appreciation. The Forecasters take a wider look than any of the other two. The Health and the Forecaster ventures are cooperative enterprises. Without the support, goodwill and cooperation of the JCAA the other two could neither be nor survive.

**To me it is a great and magnanimous compliment to the Forecasters that they can come to a Tenth Annual All-Sports Banquet in 1961. This is the real significance, a type of teamwork without formality ,technicalities, or limelight seeking. The spotlight is kept on the athletes, and always to inspire them, help them on to greater improvement, and to give them the send-off which will land them high.**

The fine work of the JCAA perhaps goes unnoticed. This way they can work without the hindrance of fanfare. Also, their work is less misunderstood. In promoting clinics demanding the highest standards of competition, and trying to select personnel which, if given the chance, will be worthy of going to college, eligible for any scholarships which come, the members of the JCAA have made a contribution, it seems to me.

**I want to see the full history of the JCAA written. As Miss Farmer puts it, "History can give us hope, consolation, and inspiration."**

Who needs inspiration more than the Negro group, and especially those black boys and girls who are often given an uneven chance, a hard way, and raw deal?

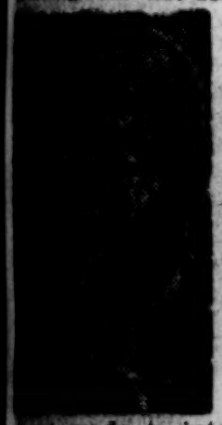
# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Who is it listening to all of this talk about building careers and exploring job opportunities?

The questions pinched my mind as I sat at the AKA regional meeting and heard Mrs. Alma Vessels John and Miss Phola C. Taylor, both who came from New York to try to help the younger generation.

Except for the Ullman High School choir, and a few others, the young did not seem to be present.



It is not often that one in school is going to have an opportunity to meet persons like these New Yorkers who can tell them something.

It was almost that way a year ago when Omega Psi Phi Fraternity brought J. B. Blayton to Birmingham for a speech. An effort was made to interest business and accounting students in seeing and hearing a man who has to his credit more records than perhaps any other business man. Unless parents and teachers do something about this extra teaching their students or children are likely to fall behind.

Looking back I owe almost as much of my development to teachers, parents and friends who encouraged me to either read something or to hear somebody as to assignments otherwise. This is perhaps something so personal that it should not be used this way. Yet the absence of young people and the mature citizens from programs of the kind sponsored by AKA is enough to worry those of us still concerned by equality of opportunity.

**One who was a student at Spelman College at the time I was at Morehouse wrote me some years back about a friend of hers who was trying to make it in a man's world of public relations and enlisted my help. It is still a hard task for a young woman from the darker group to build her way into new careers. I could write many columns on this subject.**

In talking with Mrs. John about the subject of better careers for talented and deserving young women of our group I came away disturbed and saddened. It seems that so many of us do not know what is going on. A young woman in Birmingham of my acquaintance applied for a job in which she had better qualifications apparently than the one who was hired. Her shortcoming was her racial identity.

**That is why some of these writings by some of our fine people about illegitimacy is so appalling. A young Negro woman as pure as an angel and as clean as a virgin could never be hired on certain jobs in Birmingham and in other Southern cities. I can never forget some of the chats of Dr. Howard W. Thurman when I was a senior at Morehouse I could go on Saturday nights to his home on Ashby where he chatted with us about the facts of life regarding womanhood and the poorly-protected position of the Negro woman. Some of those obviously writing to try to please our detractors fail to understand either American life or American history.**

Then I went back to files for a clipping carrying a recent story about Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson, chairman of President Kennedy's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. The chairman is quoted as saying, in part: "It is apparent that one of the great barriers to equal employment opportunity in this country lies in the lack of equal availibility of training for skilled trades and crafts."

He adds: "Men and women cannot have access to jobs unless they also have access to the instruction which qualifies them for those jobs."

**Take a look in any community to see what opportunity is open for a Negro girl to get training. She has to take what she can get and along the way is often victimized by some of those who point an accusing finger and blast with an evil tongue.**

If she desires to be a nurse, she finds the nursing schools closed to her in Birmingham. If she was to bolster her education after work hours, she is barred from the Birmingham Center of the University of Alabama. If she has completed the best business course and has the highest rating as a typist, she is barred from certain jobs solely because of her race.

**Legitimate opportunity is being denied to Negro girls while others continue to point the finger of scorn at them. Some of them never take pen in hand, or organization in control to work, so that the nice girl will have a better break if she wants it.**

On Sunday afternoon, April 23, Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity will sponsors its "Bigger and Better Business Week" program. L. J. Willie, secretary of Smith and Gaston Interests will be the speaker. This program will be trying to stimulate interest in careers in business and to generate more support for Negro-owned business. Likely only members of Sigma will be on hand to hear Mr. Willie.

It would be nice to have the Greek medley played and the names of the organizations checked off as its theme song is played. Public relations in career building seems to be having a tough time in Birmingham.

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. - (SNS) - Senate Confirmation of Charles M. Merriwether as a director of the Export-Import Bank has not ended discussion on the controversial appointment by "New Frontiers" President John F. Kennedy.

**In a post-confirmation statement, published by The Montgomery Advertiser, March 9, Retired Admiral John G. Crommelin, with whom Mr. Merriwether, Alabama state Finance Director in the administration of Gov. John Patterson, was linked in Senate confirmation debate, minimized the Finance Director's connection. Instead of working in his 1950 campaign, as claimed in some of the Senate discussion, Admiral Crommelin said the new Export Import Bank was merely a "leg man and office boy", according to the Advertiser's news report.**



It would seem that Admiral Crommelin is downgrading Mr. Merriwether who has indicated that he will think and work within the framework of the administration policies of President Kennedy.

**An avowed segregationist, Mr. Merriwether is often credited as being the architect of the campaign which landed Gov. Patterson where he is. The Advertiser, which has written several lively editorials on the Merriwether-Patterson tie up, said March 10, editorially: "And now (President) Kennedy has in his administration an elaborately advertised Alabama politician with a history of political collboration with the Kluzers."**

The Merriwether selection by President Kennedy did not bring much vocalized and publicized protest from Negro leaders. However, in Birmingham one organization revealed that it sent a statement to the Senate leaders asking the nomination be rejected. From what could be learned there was little documentary information sent by this organization. Protest without documentary supporting evidence is often weak.

**There are some Negro persons in Birmingham who claimed to know Mr. Merriwether and to have been working at the cleaning concern and at the drug store with which he once were identified at the same time he was employed. Yet none of them seem to know anything much about Mr. Merriwether which could be documented or serve as damaging to his successful nomination.**

None seemingly was able to dig up any utterances which they could attribute to Mr. Merriwether. This is one of the striking things which came out of the Senate confirmation battle. For Mr. Merriwether denied that he was anti-Negro, anti-Catholic or ani-Jewish. The Adveriser pointed out that Mr. Merriweher was in or had been in business with two partners who were of the Jewish faith.

**Ted Lewis, political columnist for The New York Daily News, wrote March 6, in part: "Merriwether has denied that be is anti-Negro, anti-Catholic or anti-Semitic or that he ever had any affiliation with the KuKlux Klan."**

Added Columnist Lewis: "But he has not denied that some of his political buddy-buddies in Alabama have been what he said he hasn't and never was".

Mr. Lewis went on to say: "The idea of a segregationist from Alasuch as loans to Africans, Asians and South American countries stired up the liberal Senate wing in the Democratic Party."

The paradox in all of this is that Mr. Merriwether has accepted an appointment in an administration on record and dedicated to a wider effeculation of the reality of civil righ's than his predecessor. The Alabama Democratic Party was split over the civil rights assertion of President Kennedy and the liberal National Democratic platform. Gov. Patterson whose severe racial views have often cut deeply the feelings of the Negro group has praised the confirmation of his former political ally.

**In the early days when the going was tough, the Patterson-Merriwether stood up for the Kennedy candidacy. This seemingly ruffled and embarrassed some of the supporters of Gov. Patterson but he stuck to his decision. Politics make strange maneuvers.**

President Kennedy is taking both integrationists and segregationists into his administration. The Democrats seem to be truly a national party.

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Birm World

In addition to filling out a 22-item questionnair, applicants for the ballot in Jefferson County are "required to undergo an oral examination."

Birm, Ala.

**That would seem to knock down the contention of those who claim that Negro applicants for the ballot merely memorize the voter-qualification questionnaire. It also opens the way for differential treatment for prospective voters.**

The "oral examination" could provide the prejudiced official with a ready club to better that group which is the object of his prejudice. It also could come in handy for "fishing exercusion", a phrase used by those opposed to the federal government's investigators looking at al lof the pertinent records in the custody of the registrars.

**A certain newspaper has suggested that some Negro applicants seeking to become voters memorize the information on the questionnaire. Yet Hugh Sparrow, staff writer for The Birmingham News, March 26 quoted Walter Brower, chairman of the Jefferson County Board of Registrars as saying, in part: "It happens sometimes - invariably in the cases of some Negro Applicants - that an applicant will start immediately to copy answers someone else has written in a form identical to the questionnaire." ....**

Which is it? They copy already-prepared filled-in questionnaires or do they memorize them?

**How does a registrar know that "someone else has written" the material on the form which he alleges is displayed "invariably" by some Negro applicants?**

In the voter-registration schools usually one is instructed on how to organize a voter-registration fact sheet. If one opens a bank account, or seeks to get a mail subscription to a newspaper, no worries about any assistance given to the prospect. There are driver's schools where one may learn to pass a test to get license to operate a vehicle. Yet it seems that hostile spirits can find something wrong with one who desires to vote, studies, and tries to prepare himself for a questionnaire drawn up by the members of the Alabama Supreme Court.

**When officials go probing into the private lives of housewives who seek to become voters, who are married, and of a respectable home and try to read something into their marriage date and the birthdates of their first child is not this an unwarranted invasion of privacy? When a hearing amounts to a trial without counsel, and the subject placed into the position of being forced to testify against himself, would not that be an en encroachment upon one's civil liberties?**

A moral and legal distinction should be drawn between an unwed woman who has children and a married woman who corrected an earlier blunder and is now with an honorable family. The idea appears that a woman condemned to disfranchisment will not contest it because of the delicacy of the subject and the hyperisy made up of more sinners than saints. Yet I would not waive the idea that disfranchisement based upon the nonwedlock doctrine ought to be challenged.

First, the doctrine of irrecoverable citizenship of moral damnation, which the nonwedlock theory seems to be, tends to shackle one into static disfranchisement. Such a doctrine seems to be contrary to state law and at war with enlightened ethics. It seems to be a throwback to the early American colonial days when women over-ripened with age were burned as witches in New Salem, Mass. I am unwilling to ram back to the American witchcraft days for voter-registration morality.

**To me the voter-registration problem in Jefferson County is for more grave tha nour civic-service leaders seem to recognize. The massive potentiality of the group's vote, the civic instruments available for effective leadership, and the purchasing power in the hands of our group which can be converted to freedom tools ,offer to the Negro group an tremendous strength to overcome many obstacles.**

This potentiality and raw civic power has been harmonized, teamed, blended and utilized. Social esteem, economic readiness, political opportunity, and freedom growth are all tied up together. Some of our leaders do not seem to understand that and hence permit our potential total strength to be dissipated by clever isolation, futile intra-status competition, andpolitical trap plays, it seems to me.

When one's right to vote is denied to him solely because of his race, the numerical size of his group, and the county in which he resides, his political throat is being cut merely for being born an dfor living as an aspiring American where he find himself. Such a practice is the wrong way to screen new voters. Under it political sluggery would seem to be substituted for political suffrage. This kind of blighted system, should it exist, would seem to be unfair constitutionally, wrong ethically and undersirably as a symbol of the American credo.

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Kick-off program of the eighteenth annual United Negro College Fund campaign lasted two hours Sunday, April 16 at Thirgood Christian Methodist Episcopal Church.

Birm World

**Was that too long for this kind of program?**

Some 32 colleges make up the UNCF group. In 1959-60 the total enrollment of these institutions was 24,176 excluding part time students. At one time there were about 1,000 graduates from 19 of these colleges living in the Jefferson County area.



**Nine alumni rep. from these 32 colleges were listed on the program. They included Thomas G. Shaw, Atlanta Uni.; C. J. Greene, Clark College; Miss Vivian Bell, president of the Knoxville Alumni Club; Benjamin Comer, president of the Fisk University Club; Clyde S. Kirby, president of the Birmingham Morehouse Club, Mrs. Margaret B. Little, president of the Birmingham Spelman Club; Johnnie Wilhite, president of the Birmingham Talladega Club, the Rev. G. W. Harrison, president of the Birmingham Tuskegee Club T. R. German, president of the Tuskegee Club.**

Certainly, the progam could have been shortened. Only approximately $5,000 was raised. The largest single contribution did not come from an alumni group. It did not come from any group of college folk. It did not come from a business or a profession headed by a college graduate. Had the graduates from UNCF member colleges put up just $10 each twice as much could have been raised in about one-tenth of the time needed.

Birm World 4-15-61

**Some of us kick, kick, kick, but seldom kick-off. Some of us kick on the length of the program; others kick on being asked to contribute, and others kick on being requested to serve. We like to kick but many of us don't like to kick off.**

This was a 17-number program with some sub-items attached. The program had variety. A program of this magnitude had to run full length. However, each of us knew just where and how to shorten the program. But those of us who know all of this do not always work with programs. We just know. Some of us know more than we have ever learned.

**There was Prof. George C. Bell with his three dimension introduction of Dr. James Allen Colston, president of Knoxville College and featured speaker. There are many shabby introductions. This one was analytical, prepared and interpretative. This was one of the few times when Mr. Bell has consented to serve for an occasion of this sort. What he said, and the targets at which he aimed, and the thought behind his words were worthy of consideration no less than the time he took.**

Ullman High School is making its finest showing in comparison with other years, it was revealed. This was a modest beginning that could become massive. Dr. Bell made the point of the number of students returning from UNCF-affiliated institutions during Spring vacation. He cited the increase in the number from Ullman High where he is principal who are now going off to college. This was information which, if taken properly, should have balanced off the time used, it seems to me.

**Was the UNCF kick off program too long? Each Monday night the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights meets. Its program usually begins about 6:30 p.m. and ends about 9 or 9:30 P.M. The Christmas Eve dance of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity starts around 10 P.M. and ends around 1 A.M. or later, Poker games run all night some time. None of these is too long.**

**Mrs. Charlie M. Pharris, director of the 1961 UNCF drive in the Jefferson area, presided over the two-hour kick-off program. She sensed the restlessness, made adjustments and did a whittling job. She seemed to be a little hoarse and was obviously upset over the way some in the audience were reacting.**

**What I would propose is a grumblers' division of the UNCF drive where all of us who don't like long programs and small giving could come together and have kick off of our own. We could take out after the two-hour group, raise more money in less time. The grumbler who put down the first $1,000 could preside. The one who gave $2,000 could introduce the speaker and the one who put in $3,000 could call the time. With that kind of kick-off we wouldn't need much time to raise $5,000.**

# THE TIP-OFF

Birm World

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Wed. 4-19-61

Some of the questions asked at the briefing on the proposed AFRAM project at the meeting in the A. G. Gaston Building conference room April 6 seem to indicate some deeper readings in business literature by some of our civic and business leaders.

**Ulysses J. Montgomery, president of Afram Continental Coporation, who made the presentation, is a graduate of the Massachusettes Institute of Technology and si a licensed Civil Engineer. He is also a member of American Society of Civil Engineers and a member of the Structural Engineers Association of Southern California. His headquarters are in Los Angeles, Calif.**



He has worked for three years on the AFRAM program which is designated to organize a cement plant and operate it in Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa. He was instrumental in obtaining the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Transoceanic and Nigerian private capital to support the idea.

**For the layman the investment**

operations deal in big money as a total share. As explained, when the project materializes one could buy shares of stock at $100 a share. Mr. Montgomery is doing the educational spadework and trying to interest members of the Negro group in what seems to be a potential source of international investments.

It seems to be a big step forward when a member of our group can come before us with the type of training which Mr. Montgomery has and try to show us new investment opportunities International investments is something new to us because even here in America investment training, employment, and experience is barely beginning to open up.

That Mr. Montgomery would place Birmingham among the 32 or more cities in which he is carrying this proposal tends to cast a new light upon the economic significance of the Negro group in this city There is a vast untapped source of savings piled up in places where members of the Negro group are denied an opportunity to work on the basis of talent and training. Birmingham does not even have a licensed Negro engineer.

The point is that if these savings owned by members of the Negro group could be put to work for social dignity, employment opportunities, and still earn even more, that would help to solve a number of problems and melt away political tension. Dumb dollars seldom represent wise men.

One thing which our business leaders often emphasize is the building value of savings. In the long run which will show up better, the building idea or the idea? This is something which needs to be weighed. For if it turns out that those who advocated building value of the savings dollar over and against the boycott power of the purchasing dollar have less in the way of gains, it could mean a bad future for our leaders.

Those who advocate the building idea will need to show gains in terms of more and better jobs, changes in job opportunities and service where Negro trade is solicited in one part of the store but his presence barred in another. In other words, there must be justification in terms of itemized progress and visible change.

The questions asked by some of the members of the convened group indicated that many of our business me nare better informed today on investments and speak the technical language of the professionals in the field. This is an index of some of the steady change currently going on.

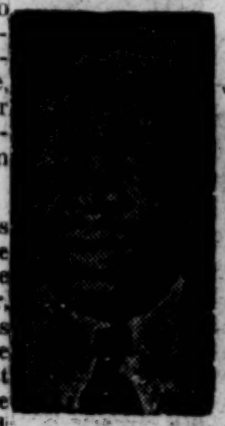
# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — (SNS) — Events tend to illumniate speeches.

An editorial in The Journal of Negro Education, Winter 1961, organ of The Bureau of Educational Research, Howard University, Washington, D.C. discussed "The 'Sit-in' Demonstrations and the Dilemma of the Negro College President," took a forthright stand favorable to this issue.

One of the ASTA speakers, Atlanta-born Dr. J. M. Nabrit, Jr., president of Howard University, is heading a federally-promoted institution which has introduced a course in the "Philosophy and Methods of Non-Violence which was discussed the March 17 issue of Time magazine.



In his keynote message to the 78th convention of the Alabama State Teachers Assn. which convened at Alabama State College here. Dr. Robert Prentiss Daniel, president of Virginia State College said in the course of his talk that "the sit-ins demonstrate moral appeal."

Sit-ins have only been abortive broken up in instances by police, where they have been tried in Alabama. The traditional freedom leadership has not given any inspirational encouragement, or otherwise indicated support which could be realiable, in respect to the new moral force.

J.O.NE said in its editorial "that these student demonstrations in the South were the most significant development in the field of civil rights and race relations of the past year."

The Journal observed that this new spiritual force made such an impression of public thinking that the two major political parties "were faced with the question of endorsing these demonstrations and pledging stronger civil rights in their platforms." It added: "The 'sit-in' demonstration also had international aspects." Critics of Westerns ways of which the U.S.A. was identified used these moral demonstrations to their advantage, the magazine said.

The Journal of Negro Education's editorial said it "has been disappointed in the action of some college presidents during these demonstrations". The editorial examined the two main arguments of the college presidents with which it was "disappointed" and found them to be weak.

The arguments were that (1) had not they, the college presidents who wavered, taken the course they did, the governing boards would have, and that like Lincoln, their higher responsibility was to "preserve the institution".

Said the editorial in rebuttal: "I do not believe that such explanation will be acceptable to Negro student or to the Negro students or the Negro community at this stage of desegregation. It appears to the writer that certain action on the part of the Negro college president in relation to the 'sit-in' demonstration should have been pre-determined by conviction based upon conscience."

Observed the editorial: "In this process the Negro president has been an effective instrument of the power group in preventing action designed to bring about changes in basic patterns of race relations."

The editorial, written by Hurley Doddy, associate editor of The Journal of Education adds: "What should the Negro college president do when caught between these powerful forces? He must make up his mind in terms of his conscience and self-respect where the limit is beyond which he is a man, a Negro, a college president, cannot go. This is the point where the alternative is between being fired and maintaining his self-respect and the respect of the Negro community, or remaining president by carrying out the orders of the segregationists and losing the respect of the Negro community.

"It seems to me," the Doddy editorial asserts, "that the president of the Negro college, especially in he South must realize that after he has acquiesced to the demands of the segregationists, he will still be fired unless he is to go on with other demands which are surely to come. If the Negro college president is to be a leader in the Negro community, he must demonstrate that he was convictioned worthy of leadership and is willing to sacrifice and suffer no less than his students."

Whether college president or community leader, the law of conviction and conscience should have its way. These are qualities necessary for good leadership.

The Howard University experiment, as reported by Time magazine to prepare for "wiser leadership in sit-ins."

Actually, the 'sit-in" technique seems to represent peaceful protest. The test now is whether this type of protest is unconstitutional. Those who protest segregation, protest by it, use it to another's disadvantage, do not want to see segregation protested or fought.

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

DOTHAN, Ala. — (SNS) — Here in the northeast corner of Alabama is the hub city of the Wiregrass.

The hardening housing pattern is visible here the same as it is in Huntsville, or Gadsden, or Eufaula, or nationwide. Through urban renewal, or slum clearance, or relocation, federal housing seems to be deliberately used for purposes other than better housing. There are those who seem to be waking up, although it might be too late.

For two years Dothan was home to me. There have been trips back sice the 1939-41 stay. Such a period is not long enough for many changes in a slowly-stimulated society.

While here I visited Prof. John Thomas Porter, principal of Carver high School and author of a "In Spite of Handicaps". He revealed that another of his books, a play, America's Last Piece of African Black Ivory" is due off the press soon.



Others here have written books.

Always in coming to Dothan I look forward to seeing my old Morehouse College freshman classmate, Marion Hawk and his lovely wife. The Hawks are progressive business personalities of this city. Mr. Hawk was kind enough to take me on a tour of the modern Washington Hotel which he owns and operates. It is wonderful, and certainly of a class and quality one would not expect in a medium-sized city like Dothan.

Obviously he has invested considerable money in this hotel and has made it a credit to first-class citizenship. The investment reflects a faith in our group and a recognition that things should brighten out.

In one of the newer neighborhoods there is a grocery and market operated by Negro talent which is well-stocked, beautifully arranged and splendidly located. In walking through the older Negro neighborhoods I did not see Negro grocery stores in the same proportion as they run by the other group.

Dothan has three Negro police officers. There is talk of civic leaders trying to get the city officials to add some Negro policewomen. In this respect Dothan is ahead of Birmingham.

The power structure takes pride in what they call good relations existing between the races here. In atmosphere and in spirit Dothan seems to have a different, if not better, pattern of group relations.

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Ivan Swift, staff writer for The Birmingham News, had a piece in his newspaper August 17 dealing with the fat textbook trade in Alabama.

**His observations about the annual yield to textbook publishing companies which is from $2 to $3 million a year were interesting but not searching enough to satisfy some other answers to important questions.**

There is in Alabama a 14-member textbook selection committee of which six members must come from elementary schools and a similar number from other schools. The textbook business, according to the Swift article, is distributed among about 40 textbook selling companies.



**Just how much representation the Negro group is given on the Alabama textbook committee is not known by this spot. How much of the approximately $3 million spent on textbooks comes from the Negro group has not been established. This kind of research usually is not made available by any of the Negro-manned teacher-service or parent-teacher organizations in Alabama. There are no racial barriers or anything else standing in the way of this information being deducted or derived by them.**

Research in basic things is still one of the heartbreaking weaknesses of our structured leadership. Enough money is usually spent on dances, barbecues and parades to pay for needed, useful and helpful research. The textbook situation is another Back-to-School challenge begging for help from our civic-service leadership.

**Adequate representation on the Alabama textbook selection committee and visible sharing of the benefits of the three million dollar "melon" (as Mr. Swift calls it) are considerations which should challenge our educators, business and civic leaders to action, it seems to me. Our leadership should insist on their group sharing wherever benefits come from state stimulation. Equal treatment should be extended to each activity where money is spent and services rendered, it seems to me.**

Yet there is still another area where once there was some leadership interest. For a time there were those interested seeing that there was truth instead of propaganda in textbooks. At one time there was also some interest in seeing that the selected list of school reference books included a fair amount of books by Negro authors and about the life of the Negro group. Emotion over school integration has almost smothered out the idea of a fair and balanced selection of library material.

**Alabama has had its unfortunate share of the library selection issue and also one kicked up a few years ago over a civic text book which became controversial and eventually was dropped because of political pressure.**

There is nothing that should prevent the Alabama State Teachers Association from having a competent, active, and bold textbook committee which would make periodic reports, prepare articles for the ASTA News and ASTA bulletin and conduct workshops on the subject. The same thing also could be done by the Alabama Congress of Negro Parent-Teacher Association. Similarly the Alabama Association of Women's Clubs could set up a truth in textbooks committee to keep track on the way material is handled in textbooks and to make public its findings.

**The fact that the Negro group is excluded should never be taken to mean that they should not explore. Our educators and civic enlightenment leaders should not leave the textbook field solely and exclusively to others, it seems to me.**

It is now recognized that textbook freedom is part of America's general freedom. If the Negro group is not allowed a hand in the selection of textbook, then this group is deprived of an important chunk of freedom. Textbook freedom is essential to national freedom.

**In his report to the forty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Teachers, held in Philadelphia, Pa., Carl JJ.J Megel, AFT president observed, in part: " ... Education will not be the academic thing as it was in the past, but to be successful from now on (education) must be an instrument for articulating values to the people."**

He adds: "These values must be consistent with our scientific, cultural and economic achievement."

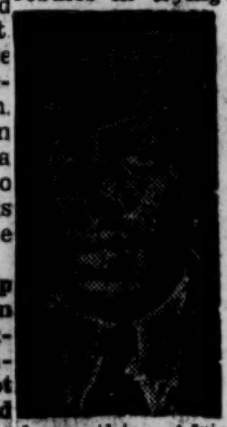
Mr. Megel also observed: "The need of education in America today deserves a priority of publicity attention equal to that of national defense. To fail in education is to fail in everything."

**Yet in the classroom the teacher is the queen of the instructional process. The textbook is merely one of the many tools at the disposal of the teacher. Teaching is making life make sense, it seems to me.**

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

There is a piece by Paul Conklin in the magazine, "Africa Report," August, 1961, which discusses "the new University of Nigeria" which is located in Nsukka, Nigeria, Africa.



**The writer revealed how Dr. Unamdi Azikiwe, the American - trained Nigerian leader met with rebuffs in trying to get money to establish the institution and finally came up with the idea of "getting money without begging." He looked around tnd cast about for resources he had in hand.**

Our American colleges of Negro identity probably could kide some ideas from this African scholar and leader. The alumni is an underdeveloped source of money. Yet it seems to be overlooked, neglected, or ignored. It must be cultivated and stimulated.

**Additionally the Nigerians wanted "to create something unquely suited to Nigeria's needs." So the university builders examined both the British and American systems of higher education and sought to pluck from them whatever they saw which "suited the needs" of this nation. Conklin said that Nigerian "tpproach is considerably more American than British."**

He adds: "This break with tradition has opened the university to a great deal of criticism, for British attitudes toward American education are still strong in Nigeria. Holders of American degrees have long had to face prejudice in finding jobs in both government and

**The new pattern of "uniquely suited to Nigeria's needs" education partakes of some of the features of the American Land Grant College. (This is the centennial year of the American Land Grant College which has announced a year long celebration.**

"Behind th[illegible] Conklin writes, "from early [illegible] specialization lies the hope that broadening of horizons will encourage more young Nigerians to go into professions other than government service, law and medicine."

**Teaching, law and medicine are essentially the occupations which some of our traditional colleges have prepared students for in the United States of America. It seems to be time to re-examine youth to see whether they "uniquely serve" the needs of Negro youth.**

The ratio of unemployment among the Negro group is almost three times as large as this group's relationship to the gainfully employed. Some unions, industries and businesses will not let Negro manpower be trained for skilled jobs, open the way for apprenticeship, and then recruit them for jobs. This is an unserved need among Negro youth. This is the unmet challenge of the Negro college in the latter half of the 20th century, it seems to me.

**Nigerian educators also believe "that a well rounded education is a good thing to have." Yet opportunity should also be "well rounded." In the U. S. A. opportunity for Negro youth to get training, find a job after he is trained, and then moved up to the ladder on merit, is not well rounded. What can the Negro college do to help round out this pportunity for its own graduates."**

It may be that dark Africa will have to light the way for the brownskinned Americans. No group can rise above the level of its education. A few individuals may do it, but not the group as a whole. Something needs to be found that will notch up a little higher the whole group no matter how painful the task might be.

Another side of the picture is presented by David G. Scanlon, professor of International Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, entitled, "African Education," published in the Saturday Review, August 19, 1961 Those students who plan either to enter college or return to college should read this article, it seems to me. For it tends to reveal "The narrow economic edge on which many of the students live" in East Africa.

**Scanlon says: "Education, except in a few areas is considered the ladder for economic and social mobility."**

Isn't that about how some of us view education?

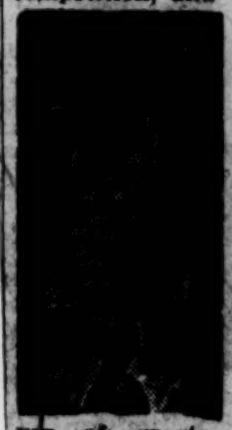
**Yet Professor Scanlon observed: "Today (in East Africa) the hunger for education is second perhaps only to nationalism in the forces that are sweeping East Africa."**

Is the hunger for education and first-class citizenship among the Negro group in the U. S. A. going hand in hand? The Negro [illegible] has the challenge [illegible] late and satis[illegible], it seems to me.

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Bill Bell, sports columnist of The (Columbus) Ohio, Sentinel, August 3, 1961 paid "a tribute to the late William (Dizzy) Dismukes one of the all-time greats of Negro baseball." His piece dealt with Dismukes, Birmingham, Alabama's gift to baseball, in connection with the old fireballer's effort to make baseball go in that Midwest city. Dismukes had managed the Columbus Blue Birds an entry in the Negro National Baseball League. The club did not withstand the competition, and this folded.



**But that is only incidental comment to some-thing Columnist Bell wrote which fits into this Back-to-School series and foreshadows an emphasis which should not be overlooked when the Birmnigham Grid Forecasters stage their eleventh annual survey-of-sports smoker on Thursday night, Sept. 7 at the Downbeat Club in Ensley.**

Bell wrote, in part: "Diz was a great teacher of baseball but was never loved by his players because he was too much of the perfectionist. We remember on Sunday afternoon when Ray Williams beat the Chicago American Giants, who had such stars as Mules Suttle, Turkey Stearn, Steel Arm Davis, Willie Wells, Sr., and Larry Brown

in their lineup, 9-1. But was Diz satisfied? No. He told Roy he should have shut them out 'You eased up in the ninth inning, because you had a 9 to 0 lead," Diz said."

Bdv. 8-12-61

**Dismukes was a believer in good habits, sound training, and the scholarship of sports. He believed that a player should be an example of high, competitive, exacting sportsmanship. He also advocated the excellence of performance and believed that one should give his best until the game was over. Sloppy play in sports should be no more tolerated than sloppy study in the classroom.**

Dizzy Dismukes was a kind of saint of baseball. He believed in baseball so much that he stuck with it just about all of his life. Yet it was in the business of baseball as organized and sponsored by the Negro group that he found the least success and seemed to have worked at hardest. (Andrew T. Hatcher associate White House press secretary ,in his speech to the Southern Beauty Congress touched on the angle of the Negro group and its weakness in business)

Birmingham, Ala

**Dismukes believed with all of his heart in the possibilities of his racial group but saw his dreams of professional baseball sponsored by his group shattered, wrecked, blasted. Yet he never seemed to have become embittered and was too high - minded to entertain any excuses. He went on seeking, but never finding the complete answers to becoming a full success in administrative Negro -owned baseball. Perhaps many of the answers were buried in seeming failure of Negro business men to understand fully cooperative sponsorship, the business accessories of professional sports and the importance of commercial holdings.**

Unless our sports - interested business meant watch out they will be left out, or kept out, or lose out completely in the ownership and administrative side of professional sports. Our Black Barons, for instance, should be a better showpiece of our business and promotional ability, it seems to me. This is not intended to be an unkind comment, but rather a candid observation. It is intended to be an observfvation of sympathy, yet it might sting a little.

**It remains in scholastic, collegiate and community sports that the Negro group still holds its own in some of the spectator sports. Not often is our group found among the shareholders of sports, or serving as administrative aides, promotional specialists, or on the business ends of professional sports, either organized, informal, or unorganized. Until such is the case sports must not be classified as fully reflective of the American credo of equality of opportunity it seems to me.**

Gone are the days when Negro-sponsored baseball owned its parks, had productive booking agents, and his hooked up with promotional competency. Professional baseball should be able to look to the Negro college campus, to Negro -owned business for some talent other than as players. The Negro college should turn its attention to all phases of American life, it seems to me.

**It has been in recent years that Negro colleges seemed to have realized that thir school - sponsord sports could hardly survive except on the campus. The terms of the public stadia or gyms often required the surrender of ideals and standards that were contradictory with the mission of the college and unworthy of consideration of obligation by any American college dedicated to human advancement and social dignity, it seems to me.**

Eventually all intercollegiate sports in the Negro college will have to be played on the campus unless favorable changes are made at the off - campus sports facilities so as to make such facilities conform to basic dignity and lofty freedom values in every respect, it seems to me. The 1961 Back -to - College challenge is to explore sports as a new tool to help repair the damage done to democracy by social narrowness.

**Columnar Note: In the mid-week piece there was some reference to lost addresses of some members of the Morehouse College class of 1932, of which I am a member. Mrs. Carolyn Rushin, a reader of this column has called to my attention that her father's name was listed. He is Mr. Charles B. Bailey, of 1628 McFadden St., Columbia, S. C. He is an employee in the postal service and according to Mrs. Rushin receives regularly, the Morehouse College Bulletin, the official organ of the college. Another name, George Harrison II, is reportedly deceased. This information is both acknowledged and appreciated. — E. O. J.**

31a 1961

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

CHICAGO, Ill. — (SNS) — All the speakers but the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, of Birmingham, Ala. had made their speechy contribution when the three of us took our seats up front at Greater Bethesda Baptist Church, Sunday, July 30.



When the Rev. Shuttlesworth, president of the Alabama Christian Moveemnt for Human Rights and pastor of Bethel Baptist Church in his hometown rose to speak, he recognized that there were some hometowners in the audience. He asked us to stand, and it all began there.

I was enroute home from Valparaiso University in Indiana and stopped over between travel schedules to visit some relatives. This church is around the corner from where some of those live.

When the introduction was over and I had barely settled in my seat, Eddie Hill, a relative through marriage and a former resident of Alabama's Sumter County edged next to me on the front seat. He had some talk for me and wanted me to drop by his home to hear. Time wouldn't stand for this.

Then some one, signed Haywood Burns, slipped me a note which read: .'Mr. Jackson — as a newspaperman you might be interested in knowing that the three men in the front row with you taking notes are Black Muslims. Just thought it is an interesting sidelight. I'm a researcher from Harvard."

This was for me partly a vacation trip and it was incidental that I made it to the meeting, billed a "Freedom Riders' Rally." Accompanying me to the meeting were Robert E. Johnson, editor of a national weekly, who is from Birmingham and the Rev. James W. Black, pastor of a Congregational Christian Church here, and a native of Memphis, Tenn. The two had been roommates at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Ga. Perhaps they wanted a size - up of the Rev. Shuttlesworth, a favorite attraction in the freedom struggle.

Then came Mrs. Rubie Pearl Battle Black, a Spelman College graduate from Cedartown, Ga. She had lived in Birmingham before her marriage and operated a public accounting office. When I last saw her she was working accounting in New York City and was still single. She was at the freedom rally with her husband and daughter. Mr. Black seemed to be one of those deep - dyed, warmly - dedicated and closely associated freedom leaders. Mrs. Black told me that she herself has become a zealous worker in the field of civil dights and is a member of the Unitarian Church.

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From the meeting we journeyed to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Connie Terry where there ewere three visiting African scholars from Sengal. They had brought a letter of introduction from their daughter and my nice who is in Africa. The conversation was on freedom and American and African thought.

As the African visitors talked my thoughts went back to some comments made by a Nigerian missionary at th Valparaiso institute on human relations. He told the institute that racial incidents in the United States and the attitude of Chrisians to segregation and discrimination were ruining the work of missionaries in Africa.

There were the words of the Rev. Dr. Leslie E. Coke, associate general secretary of the World Council of Churches, who observed: "This is the crisis of Christianity. The Christian faith and the Christian church is being abandoned, denied, rejected on every hand because it is failing to meet ...the needs of men and nations at the point where it has most constantly claimed to do so."

This trip has opened my eyes anew to the trouble facing democracy and Christianity. One may not be able to change things overnight but much can be lost over night. Overnight is a dreadful word to behold in the light of how fast one can lose. It seems to me that Ameriacns should began to take a look at what can be lost overnight and set forth machinery for trying to get rid of racial discrimination faster than overnight.

NEGRO (EMORY O. JACKSON)

DEC.

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Birmingham World

As it stands, the dismissal of W. W. Law, a Savannah, Ga., lettercarrier, creates a fog of questions. He was dropped from his Post Office job on Sept. 8.

Mr. Law is president of both the Savannah, Ga. branch of the NAACP and the Georgia State Conference of NAACP Branches. His leadership is given credit for numerous freedom advances which have been made in Savannah.

Admittedly, all of the facts have come to surface it would appear that Mr. Law was a marked man by some of the politicians. Savannah has a team of leaders and striking down Mr. Law would not likely stifle the determination to keep the fresh waters of freedom flowing.



There is no longer the Savannah Tribune, which at the time of its suspension, was the oldest Negro-owned weekly in America. Without the Tribune to raise its voice, the cause of the Negro group is weakened. The Tribune is not on the scene to ferret out the facts in the Law Dismissal Case.

There is some research which would appear to give a political coloring to some of the unhappy events. This research indicates that a politicians in a speech April 8, 1960 before the Chatman (White) Citizens Council, as reported in the Savannah (Ga.) News said: "If I was a member of Congress, there is one particular NAACP bigwig right here in Savannah who would cease to work for the United States Post Office Department."

The politican credited with making that assertion has denied that he has ever suggested the dismissal of Mr. Law. This assertion, if made, may not have had anything to do directly with the clipping away the Post Office Job of Mr. Law. But it does tend to illuminate the flavor of spirit of organizations with an ideology to restrict the Negro group. One of the tenents of the WCC is to bring economic reprisals. Politicians who flirt with the WCC often to foster some aspects of its program.

In the 18-county Georgia First Congressional District, there is not political action organization. It is possible that if the Negro group has a district-wide organization the same as it has the Savannah voters group that a political cushion could be put under some of the jolting assertions made by those who seek Congressional office. The lesson to be learn in the Law Dismissal Case is that there is no substitute for surveying the whole district.

When you snatch a man's job away from him because of his race or because he fights to be a man of dignity, you lynch him, figuratively speaking, at the breakfast table. Whether it is a rope lynching or economic lynching, the purpose is the same. Lynching is intended to put fear into the hearts of those in the victim's group. When economic lynching is substituted for the rope and faggot it means that lynching has passed to finer hands .

What has happened to Mr. Law, with no more facts available than have come to light, is beginning to shine the spotlight elsewhere. The spotlight is beginning to shine in the direction of the Kennedy administration. That question is in the frame of the seemingly possible exertion of wrongful pressure. In the absence of better information eyes will likely be kept riveted to the Kennedy administration in the Law Dismissal Case.

The demise of the Savannah Tribune, the lack of an effective district-wide organization, and the fall off in voter-registration have materially weakened the struggle for freedom. Yet the combined leadership is carrying on in Savannah. The troubles of Mr. Law could serve as a stimulant to arouse the Savannah freedom leadership to repair the weak links.

For those of Savannah, as we in Alabama know, the resisters will use almost any means to try to slow down, reverse, or kill off the group's struggle for improvement, a voice in government, the full benefits of a customer, and social dignity .These are only the aspirations of solid Amrelcans. They are the legitimate aspirations of human beings.

The victims of freedom are among freedom's most noteworthy advancers. It has been that way since man's beginning. The freedom builders somehow leave something behind more endearing than the freedom wreckers. W. W. Yaw is among the freedom builders, it seems to me.

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Birmingham World

Wed 12-6-61

MOBILE, Ala. — (SNS) —Mobile has concere benefits to exhibit as fruits of effective civic leadership.

Some of them are too new for announcement at this time. Quietly changes have come. Many of them are rooted in a wise use of the ballot. Others were contributed by the cooperation of the community leadership on a well defined program. The pocketbook is a newly - discovered tool for civic improvement.

Contrasted with Birmingham, it seems that Mobile could be called Alabama's queen icty of civic advancement. In the contrast Negro leaders serving on the Mobile County Democratic Executive Committee, Negro police, Negro firemen, Negro deputy sheriffs, a Negro serving as vice - chairman of the Alabama Advisory Committee of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission.



Community leaders have plans for moving deeper and wider on the economic front. One investment expert is using figures which show that the Negro consumer in Mobile stands second highest in the nation in buying power. The real estate field is juicy. Negro business has not received its due and fair share out of his own housing market. Other housing markets are foreclosed to him. Yet his own market is invaded, locked and the Negro real estate restricted to the margins.

Mobile leaders say that they will try to move into the housing market made by the dollars from the sweat and service of members of the Negro group. Real estate training has not always been open

to Negro students. To compete equality in real estate Negro realist will have to be able to be trained semes to me.

**To plow into new economic fields the Negro group will need to convert frolic money into investment capital. Our group has been free spenders and sparse investors. Many who chipped off their earnings for savings have not yet found them way fully to the investment counters. The more recent scholars of finance are exploring the new ground of economic opportunity.**

Mobile has a vibrant civic spirit. The community people seem to be proud of strides made but not satisified. For the strides are not full steps. To close the civic, political, and economic gaps Negro leadership will have to stay on double time. Yet as they speed up their steps others quicken their pace. They say such has been the case in voter - registration.. Community service are among the civic arts.

**Perhaps one day some Alabama organization will develop an annual honor roll of cities in this state who show the most total progress in civic relations and economic goodwill. Economic goodwill often is a barometer of community relations. The size of the Negro electorate often mirrors the civic stimulation which is evident in a given city.**

Progress doesn't hold unless it is continously promoted. With an almost completely new board of commissioners to run the city the Mobile civic leadership will need to be on guard to try to hold and advance the strides made. Apathy on election day can take its toll on goals already scored. Gains have to be held because they can never be nailed down. This is one of the lessons for followship which thinks it has it made, to use the slang of today.

**Civic progress is not of such that one can always count it in terms of paved streets, bankroll leaders, and title bearing big wheels of the community. It reflects itself in the civic mood, the community fellowship, cultural stimulation, and city pride. What are the conditions which make most residents proud of their city? people work hard for the things they love. How many can say they love the city in which they live and really mean it?**

There is something about the residents of Mobile which gives to a visitor the feeling that the love their city. If that is the case, Mobile is not likely to allow any elected officials to tear down anything which hurts and hinders this love. Mobile is likely to go on making progress for the love of their city, it seems to me.

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Just three days after Gov. John Patterson had criticized portions of the study made by the Commission on Goals for Higher Education in the South, a project of the Southern Regional Education Board, he asserted in a speech Dec. 3 in Birmingham that "Getting a good education should be first and foremost in everybody's life".

**He was speaking on a program dedicating Dixie junior high school at Minor Heights, Jefferson County Public Schools. He told the dedicatory audience that "Good citizenship requires good education."**

Yet he knocked the report which outlined goals to provide education in the South, in the higher areas, as good as any provided anywhere else in the nation.



**The Montgomery Advertiser reported December 1: "The Southern Regional Education Board should leave racial issues alone and worry about improving education in the South', Gov. Johnson Patterson said Thursday (Nov. 30".)**

The Advertiser pointed out in its story the report by the 16-state SREB's commission "dealt briefly with racial problems, saying that discrimination is being eliminated as a barrier."

Now take a glance at some excerpts from the report, whch observes, in part: "Within reach of the people of the South lie opportunities that stir the imagination. Economically, this region can be one of the most productive areas on earth. Culturally, its writers, painters and musicians can bring new glory to American literature, art and music. Intellectually, its colleges and universities can increasingly become prominent centers of learning and leadership."

**The report adds: "These things are possible. These states have the natural resources and the human resources to attain them. The catalyst needed to produce the transformation is higher education of the finest quality."**

Alabama is one of the three Southern states which is still denying university education and education to the nearest and accredited state institutions of higher learning to members of the Negro group solely because of their race and color. One can understand why Gov. Patterson would snap against the presentation of the facts of racial discrimination.

**Also, the report pointed to five goals which should be made guideposts to excellence in higher education in the 16-state South. They include; (1)" to provide every individual with the opportunity for maximum development of his abilities. (2) Produce citizens responsive to the social, economic and political needs of their times. (3) Achieve excellence in teaching, scholarship and research. (4) Accelerate the economic progress of the Southern region through education and research. (5) Guide the region in solving social problems created by population changes, racial differences, urbanization and technological growth."**

Additionally, the report said: "Racial discrimination, which has affected college attendance in the past, is being eliminated as a barrier. As this change continues, it must take place in a sensible, orderly and constructive manner so that educational progress is not interrupted."

**The colored child in Alabama doesn't have the opportunity to get as good an education as his white neighbor. The Medical College is a closed door to the colored lad. A colored child can't enroll in the University of Alabama's School of Law. The closed door is a barrier.**

The commission's report adds: "We therefore recommend that the Governor of each state immediately charge a group of leaders in the state with the responsibility of determining specifically what must be done to carry out these proposals."

**Should the Governor yield to this recommendation would he carry forward into the selection of "a group of leaders" the closed-door barrier? In light of the situatibn what plans are being formulated by the barred segment to help to build modern doors which serve the needs of a society which develops all of its human resources without waste and neglect.**

The Negro student needs to be whetted by what Edwin C. Berry of the Chicago Urban League calls "a new dimension of personal significance."

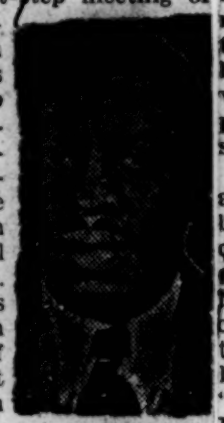
# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala. — (SNS) — What was called "The First Conference of Small Businessmen" was held at Tuskegee Institute January 18.

**The conference convened concurrently with The Seventieth Annual Farmers Conference and shared the theme, "Meeting the Challenge of Change."**

This was a first-step meeting of diversified business men from various sections of the state who had come together at the invitation of Tuskegee Institute which gave birth to the National Business League. For many years this institution interested itself in business and at one time had an excellent business department in its curriculum.



**Sadly, economics and business have been a neglected part of our educational service. Today there is not a general business organization among the Negro group. Negro business men in Alabama are usually slighted in political sections, by passed in the general economic leadership services, an often denied an opportunity to severe on the executive committee or organizations like the Jefferson County Community Chest.**

Hence the "challenge of change" theme should raise numerous questions. Change for whom? Does social change mean that Negro business men will change their outlook, build a ne wbusiness image of themseves, and set their sights upon the new frontiers?

**Dr. G. T. Dowdy presided and in a prepared statement in which he suggested "that one of the vital factors that contribute to business success is the ability of the manager to let his mind wonder."**

One panel dealt with "Suggestions for Increasing Sales and Collection of Debts." Speakers included Felix Edmonds of Phenix City; Winston Craig of Montgomery; E. M. Frazier of Tuskegee; George Bulls, of the ABC Super Market and Sanford B. McKenzie of Tuscaloosa.

**"Taxes - Techniques for Improving Collections and Reporting" were discussed by B. B. Blakemon, W. C. Allen and Mr. Bulls. This perhaps was the most fruitful of the panels.** .... .... .... ....

S. J. Bennett, president and manager of Jones Valley Finance Company, Birmingham and L. B. Richie of Tuskegee, discussed "Adequate Insurance Coverage". This was a lively discussion and both Mr. Bennett and Mr. Ritchie drove home vital facts about business coverage insurance.

**M. S. Cross, assistant regional director of the Small Business Administration, discussed "The Future of Small Business in Alabama." He defined "small business" which definition is flexible, depending on the line of business, size of work force and worth.**

**He indicated that SBA has made** approximately 475 loans in Alabama. In replies to questions he indicated that the loans were in general matters and that in sofar as Negro business men "the ratio is comparatively small." He added that in Alabama the SBA, which has a staff of approximately 21, "seldom have any inquires" from Negro business men about loans. There are no Negro members of the SBA staff in Alabama.

**However, he distributed literature which carry information about this federal agency. To what extent Negro business men will make an effort to share the services of federal agencies set up to assist businesses, and seek staff consideration, remains an unanswered inquiry. As the United States of America moves into the era of the new frontiers and answer to this inquiry would seem to be urgent.**

Dr. A. P. Torrence who served as recording secretary of the conference ,in his opening statement tried in vain to get the initial panel to list and describe what they regarded as the basic problems facing Negro-owned business which for most part is tiny business. Despite all of the complaints, grumbling, and grievances one naturally hears in casual conversations, few if any came to light. Such generalities as a need "to stick together" and a lack of investment capital came up. however.

**Negro owned business is often marginal business. Negro-owned business faces some of the same problems inherent in racial discrimination, economic exploitation, differential education, and consumer illiteracy. In Birmingham a few months ago some Negro business men who applied for real estate courses at the Birmingham Center of the University of Alabama were turned away. Negro business men are denied the opportunity to serve on zoning boards, public housing authorities, real estate board, and planning boards.**

Unequal access to education means unequal economic opportunity.

**The conference set up a planning committee to formulate ideas for a follow-up meeting.**

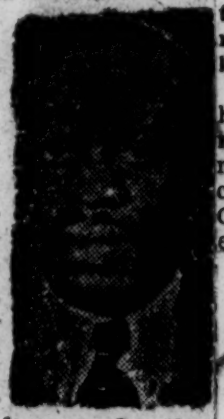
**A speech by Dr. Mordecai W.** Johnson, president emeritus of Howard University, climaxed the conference. It was an approximately hour and ten-minute roaring and soaring outpouring by the eloquent elder. statesman of education.

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

MONTGOMERY, Ala. —(SNS)— Inquiries here suggested that not many seemed to have known about "The Small Business Conference" which convened at Tuskegee Institute, January 18.

**It is true that Winston Craig, a service station operator and Mrs. Veola Arbuckle, beautician, and some other Montgomerians were present. Also, this was a revival effort, or as it was put, the first call of a conference of small business personalities. Little, if any publicity was given to this event, and except by incident, this columnist would not have known of it.**



In Dec. 1960, Norman L. McGhee, of Cleveland, Ohio, an investment broker and economic columnist for a national weekly, spoke at Tuskegee at the 18th Annual Professional Agricultural Workers Conference. In that speech, Mr. McGhee blasted the inertia of Negro business men and urged them to develop a new emphasis. But Mr. McGhee did not get back to Tuskegee Institute to repeat his ideas to the strugglers of business.

**I grow sick at heart when I attend some of these conference which seem to be awkward and aimless. For I seldom come away with a feeling that anything other than mutual griping will come. Gripes are sometimes more comforting than growth.**

In Alabama today there are no effective consumer service organizations among our group. The Montgomery Improvement Association is a protest body. The Tuskegee Civic Association is deeply, yet helpful involved in civic education. Business must have consumers to live and new markets in order to grow. Then, would not a conference for business growth, sprouting, and watering. feel a need?

**All of the blame for the lack of a statewide conference does not lie at the doors of racial discrimination. Much of it lies in the hearts of our business men. Some of it is based upon selfishness. Part of it grows out of the improper concept of business.**

In Birmingham there has been some effort to band Negro-owned business see mto be the hardest trading of blame. The owners of business seem to be the hardest to bring together into a general type of organization. They do not seem to find any virtue in the saying that there is strength in unity. If the owners of business are unable to organize, blueprint programs of joint interest, and to exchange information, how can it be done?

**It is time for Negro business leaders to plunge into the economic deep, wade into the flowing streams of business growth, and to battle for markets, services and recognition in the new frontiers. Slapstick business, the dingy fronts which hide the vice masters, and the selfish whose greed is concealed behind the labels of "Negro business" must not be allowed to become the folklore of our economic aspiration.**

Negro-owned business seems to be hardened to economic custom no more healthy than are Southern racial customs. This is one of the challenges facing the McKenzie Committee, named at the Conference on Small Business

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

A recent piece by Charles E. Wolff, director of advertising education, Advertising Association of the West, published in Printers Ink (Jan. 20, 1961), said "the advertising curriculum in colleges and universities is under fire."

**This item is thrown back against The Small Business Conference held January 18 at Tuskegee Institute. Advertising as a factor in "Meeting the Challenge of Change", theme of the conference, was given only incidential or parenthetical attention. Sanford B. McKenzie of Tuscaloosa, Ala. was named first on a committee to formulate plans for a follow-up of the conference discussion.**

The Wolff article suggested: "There are attempts to reduce the number of advertising courses, and where no advertising courses are offered, there seems to be a reluctance to offer even survey courses in advertising.



There are two reasons: (1) The school administrators, are not sold on the vital importance of advertising as an academic course of study; and (2) business communities fail to urge college administrators, business-division faculties and vocational counselors to give more emphasis to advertising."

**Check the curriculumn of almost any college which is devotedly** primarily to the educations of **members of the Negro group and see what you find related to advertising. State-supported colleges and universities in many Southern states which offer courses in advertising and merchandising and public relations are still closed to members of the Negro group. Since if is said that advertising handicapped by racial discrimination in higher education, is it not clear why some Negro - owned business does not seem to grow as fast as it should?**

We are moving into the observance of Negro History Week, stressing the strides in the United States of America over the past 100 years. To what extent is Negro-operated business working its own story into the general picture of achievement, progress, and contributions of the Negro group? The schools, churches, and clubs are spotlighting this theme. It is true that there are other promotions staged by Negro-directed business. There was the proposed Mutual Opportunity Program suggested in

...ff points out in his Printers' ...article: With more than 150,000 ...ns successfully employed in ad...ing today, and with competi... for first-class personnel on the ...se every month, it behooves ... business to take action to ob...in a much larger segment of ...ch year's crop of alert and am...tious college men and women. ...re should now be programs to ...ntinually improve the public un...rstanding of advertising, to de... with students and teachers - ... understanding of what adver...ing does for all of us, and to ...vide the kind of academic train... needed for those people who ... interested in careers of adver...."

There are not many formally or ...-trained Negro advertising men. ...e of the grave shocking short...es is in this field and one of the ...ic shortcomings of our racial ...siness segment is in the field of ...ientific, sound, and meanful ad...rtising. I came back from the ...mall Business Conference at Tus...gee Institute with a depressed ...eling.

**In the January 19 issue of The (Columbus) Ohio Sentinel, there was an editorial entitled, "The Heart of American Economy", which said, in part: "Advertising has become recognized as the heart of the American economy. It is acknowledged to be the most effective means of creating mass demand, which in turn, makes mass production possible., thus creating more jobs and helping to bring products to the customer at lower prices."**

The Sentinell editorial also observed: "Advertising also is a form of town crier that informs us what is available, what it does, what it costs, and where it can be purchased and so forth."

**Of course, advertising is constantly under criticism. It is sometimes made the scapegoat for frailties found in the economy. Yet criticism serves the useful purpose of helping to improve when it is constructive..**

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

Coincidentally, the week-long Civil War Centennial Celebration in Montgomery, Ala. came concurrently with the thirty - sixth observance of Negro History Week.

**Since Negro soldiers fought on both sides in the (Great Rebellion, and there were many free Negro persons along with slavs in the South, how would an authenic presentation of Civil War facts look? When the rebel celebration was being planned, there were some who suggsted that Negro leadership check into the proposed pageantry.**



The celebration came only a few days after a libel suit trial in which heavy financial punishment was assessed against the defendants. There were reports that bearded men who had let the stubbles grow as an assist play to the Civil War celebration drama were seen in the courtroom.

**It does not seem that the Confederate Centennial is in the same spirit as the annual Blue - Gray Classic. For the Rebel Bowl tries to be a patriotic, goodwill gesture and projects the spirit of enlightened national harmony. In reading the accounts of the Civil War Centennial celebration which is being staged in the "Cradle of the Old Confederacy" it is hard for me to feel a sense of national accord.**

On display in local storehouse windows, in some banking places, and other spots are relics, items, and souvenirs of the Civil War. But these do not seem to tell much of the story and even would seem to glorify a sad and tragic period in the life of the United States. It may be fortunate then, that "World Day of Prayer" was being observed during this same week in which there is commemoration of the slaveholders' rebellion.

**Alabama is one of the three Southern states in which there has been no positive response on any level of public education to the new national standard of educational fair play. One who is cynical could dimly discern that a kind of Civil War, at least verbal, is still on. In two whole counties in Alabama Negro citizens can no more vote than could slaves 100 years ago. These are observations which make the Civil War Centennial Celebration so depressing.**

In certain jobs there are still no Negro civilians employed. Slaves did certain jobs in pre-Confederate Days which were not even available to the free whites who were among the poor. Negro convicts are reportedly engaged in some public - like jobs in Montgomery which are not even available to Negro voters. Even as free Americans entitled to treatment in accordance with their talent, skill, training and character, the Negro group has not advanced far up the job latter in Alabama. How many Negro persons are employed in the Alabama statehouse? How many Negro persons have classified jobs on the state level under the Alabama merit system?

**As a whiskey buyer, the Negro dollar - bearer ranks high. Yet the public - sponsored whiskey store is one of the few segregated stores in Alabama. There is not a single Negro clerk or manager in any ABC Store. This is the Civil War Centennial Celebration and yet 100 years after a war was waged against second - class morality there are Jim Crow whiskey stores and racial barriers in the employment at such stores. Nobody asks a whiskey buyer about whether he is legitimate or illegitimate. Nobody asks whether he lives in the slums or on prestige row. If he is a Negro, he is Jim Crowed.**

In jotting down notes for this piece I underscored a justification phrase often used by Southern phraseologists. It is "unprepared for." Usually the second - classing of the Negro group is explained away on "unprepared for." Of course, there are among us some who express this Jim Crow justification as "not ready for."

**"Not prepared for" and "not ready for" are phrases usually assigned, not on an individual basis, but on a group basis. Which simply means that the phraseologists are not yet willing to accord to a black person the status of an individual. Hence 100 years a slave was not given the status or a person and there are those who still would do no better by the descendants.**

I thought about all of this when I read the lead editorial in the February, 1961 "Negro History Week Bulletin. The editorial exposes the frail thinking of the "poorly trained" Negro leaders who see no justification for the Negro story, or history. The editorial observes, in part: "If there is no authentic Negro history, there can be no true representation of the Negro in Aemrican history. In like manner, histories written in many parts of the world have either ignored the Negro or portrayed him in a false light of racial inferiority."

**In the Civil War Centennial Celebration is the Negro group "ignored" or portrayed in "a false light?"**

# THE TIP-OFF

By EMORY O. JACKSON

In one of its recent workshops, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority suggested that Negro leadership needs to devise means for "raising the aspiration level of Negro youth:" The sorority placed emphasis upon efficient guidance" as one of the many ways of achieving the upgradeed inspiration of often neglected, sometimes rejected, and usually underdeveloped Negro youth.

**Guidance and counseling service has been added to some of our school systems. As we approach the 78th session of the Alabama State Teachers Association in Montgomery Ala. March 16-17, it is reasonable to expect a program based upon the Delta findings? Will proud to teach be transformed into proud to inspire? Will there come anything to indicate whether in the Negro-related schools there is an "efficient guidance" program or merely one of those in-name-only types of guidance and counseling services?**



Dr. Wendell M. Lucas, assistant professor of urology at Howard Univ. Washington, D.C., in a Charter Day speech at Howard suggested: "Most Americans must be brought to realize that the survival and well-being of this nation depend no less upon the strength of our military establishment."

**Since the "well being of this nation" depends largely upon education it is time for the freedom leadership to take a sharper and bigger look at education. He adds: "The recent demonstration of initiative and courage by students in the sit-in movement is a harbinger of a new spirit among students. No longer can the frivolous, the indolent, the insincere student be countenanced.**

Some of these "new spirit" college students of today will become the teachers of tomorrow. They likely will become the proud to serve and aspire teachers.

**In his off-the-cuff remarks at the City Teachers' General Meeting March 4,; Dr. Carol W. Hayes, director of schools for the Birmingham Public Schools, underscored the necessity of "extra mile" teaching. His remarks were not in the context of the other part of this columnar discussion but is cited only to try to call attention of the developing sentimen that the quality of teaching seems to be falling off.**

When one is mis-teaching he is doing no less than servicing failure or aiding mis-directed citenship. It is hard to see how the "level of aspirations" of Negro youth can be raised while the level of teaching falls. It is less than good teaching when students seem to came away from their teachers with knowing only the art of failing.

The idea, as explained by some educators, is not that some good teaching is not going on, but that there is a shortage of good teaching. There could be good teachers who really are not doing much teaching. The complaint is heard that today there are better trained teachers who seem to be doing less good teaching. It seems that this latter observaion is what Dr. Hayes was trying to get over. The teacher is the essential inspiration needed to guide students to learning, it seems to me.

**Frequently when the matter of better learning-service material for Negro-related schools comes up, the cry of shortage of funds or of teaching talent comes up. Which would tend to indicate that somewhere along the line somebody is missing out on encouraging and helping to develop the kind of teaching talent needed to meet the students needs. In this connection, I went back to a chapter called the "Old South' in "A History of the Negro People in America', by J. W. Shuttle Nordhlot, which observed: "The high government expenditure was cut drastically, but not always wisely, for both education and social welfare frequently suffered tremendously.**

Today in Alabama public education is caught in the bobwwire of prorata. Equality of educational opportunity is tied up in the cobwebs of racial segregation. Teacher opportunity is engulfed with racial disfranchisement. Latterly it ought be said that the ASTA seems to have allowed its vote commission to pass out of existence Gone is the ASTA's guidance program on voter-registration.

**Teaching ought to be made responsive to the needs of the children who come to teachers for instruction, inspiration and eleva-**

# The Mood of Paris . . . . By Max Lerner

PARIS

WITH the aid of Warsaw Pact soldiers in war games in East Germany, Khrushchev's mounting terror tactics have taken a dizzying jump. In the world political war, which is a war of maneuver, he is using the array of Russian, East German, Polish and Czech divisions to stab West Germans, reminding them of the heavy price they will have to pay for a Berlin showdown, and how minuscule are the American forces compared to those which Russia can muster.



Mr. Lerner

Khrushchev had another target as well—the Russian Party Congress. What better time could he have chosen for a display of Soviet military muscle than the time of his stewardship accounting to the Russian and world Communist movement?

There is a theory current here, which I treat skeptically, that his major motive in driving hard on Berlin and even in his string of nuclear explosions has been to present a tough image to his own Communist world.

I regard this as secondary to his major use of the strategy of fear against Western Europe. Yet having said this one must add that Khrushchev must constantly face and satisfy the younger nuclear generals in strategy conferences and even on the central committee.

The best clue is, perhaps, that the strategy of terror directed against the West becomes, on the reverse side of the coin, a stage of strength presented to the Russian nuclear military elite and the tough neo-Stalinist party elite. Thus Khrushchev has it both ways, coming and going.

■

**PARIS, IN** the heart of Western Europe, is a febrile spot from which to watch the unfolding of world events. For Paris has jitters of its own, in addition to the chills and fevers of Khrushchev's tactics. In fact, if you viewed the world through the eyes of French intellectuals you might cut your throat in despair.

What they see ahead is sheer blankness. They see repeated assassination attempts against de Gaulle by the OAS. If he survives them and succeeds in getting an Algerian treaty signed, they see an OAS takeover in Algeria, with the Army refusing to move against the rebels, and in mainland France a similar attempt to take power. In that case they see a civil war between the locked forces of the OAS and the business class on one side and a popular front under Communist domination on the other.

For the present, as a Paris amateur observer, I do not share this view, but regard it as worth reporting. For the climate of a great intellectual and artistic center like Paris, however hysterical, cannot be ignored as merely local or marginal.

**WHEN I** ask what has brought about this mood of black despair in Paris I get all kinds of answers, but in the end they all come back to fear. I mean fear of the "plastics."

What Krushchev has not succeeded in accomplishing even by his umpteenth nuclear explosion—the creation of a climate of pervasive fear—the OAS activists have all but accomplished by their plastic bombs stolen, handed over or appropriated from Army storehouses.

Or perhaps it would be truer to say that the unheard distant rumble of the big bombs is given vividness and reality by the hard immediate explosions ofthe little bombs.

The textbooks and commentators may call ours the nuclear age, but from the angle of Paris the age of plastic is more real and more immediate. The danger is that a Paris so preoccupied with the dangers from the little band of OAS men may lose touch with the larger world of reality of Khrushchev's strategy of terror.

# The Mistake . . . By Max Lerner

THE death of Lumumba, as dismal and tragic an event as it is, will become even more tragic if it is allowed to be distorted for political purposes by the Moscow and Casablanca blocs. Never in the history of the new African nations has a cool judgement and an unimpassioned perspective been as badly needed as at this moment when a new Congo chaos threatens because of what has happened to one of the symbols of the struggle.



Max Lerner

To get this perspective straight one must first understand that the Lumumba story is not that of a political innocent done to death by wicked men. Patrice Lumumba's death was like his life Shadowy, ambiguous, violent, amoral.

True, there is pathos both in the death and the life. Lumumba had qualities of political theatre denied to his rivals—Kasavubu, Mobutu and Ileo. He could sway a crowd and a parliament, he had a way with slogans, and he aimed to make the new state a nation rather than a confederation. He was one of the new men of today's Africa who had a feel for the modern techniques of propaganda and power—including the Communist techniques—as against the primitive strength of tribal leaders.

His mistake was to be in a hurry. That was the gist of the letters which a more moderate and sophisticated man, Kwame Nkrumah, sent him — letters discovered and published by Mobutu—counseling a slower pace, not a different direction. Lumumba was in a hurry about bringing the Russians into the picture—too many and too early. He was also in a hurry about forcing into line Katanga and other federationist units which feared not only a centralized state, but even more the single-man rule of a reckless and corrupt leader, and perhaps the single party rule of an alien Communist group.

The man died because, being in a hurry, he had aroused enmities among his own people and awakened territorial hungers and political expectations among the Russians which could not be fulfilled. He was thus, in a deeper sense, caught in a trap of his own contriving.

■

**TO HOLD THE** West responsible for the death, or to hold Hammarskjold and the UN responsible—both of which Zorin did—is nonsense or worse. Zorin makes the charge on the ground that UN delay made Lumumba a victim. But by that logic one would have an even better case against the Soviet Union itself, since it was Khrushchev who kicked the base of authority and consent out from under Hammarskjold, and there by led to the withdrawal of African contingents from the UN police force.

So much for indirect responsibility. As for direct skuldduggery, it is natural—as in a crime mystery—to blame the character who stood to gain from the death and who knows where the body is buried but won't tell. The finger of circumstance points to the Katanga authorities, who were fearful that the new action contemplated by the UN would strip them of their army and turn power over in the end to Lumumba.

But to say this is a plausible guess does not mean there is any proof it happened. There are other possibilities. Lumumba was an elusive sort of fellow, constantly escaping, as slippery as the moonlight beams darting through a fishing net. He may well have escaped from that improvised farmhouse prison—or things may have been made carelessly ready for him to make his escape. He may well have been captured by the village tribesmen and perhaps beheaded in their rage before he was buried —or they may have had convenient word of his getaway.

**ANY WAY YOU** figure it gets you entangled in a net of horror. But whoever said that African tribal vendettas and chieftain rivalries are civilized in our sense? That is exactly the problem with a number of the new nation-states which retain their traditional habts of thought even while they aspire to membership in the world community.

# In the Margin . . . By Max Lerner

THE fact that Khrushchev showed two of President Kennedy's press conferences on Russian TV screens, prime viewing time, strikes me as a commanding event of our time. It is not only that the Russian people, watching Kennedy's personality in action, will find it hard in the future to believe he is the monster enemy. It is also that the Russians will see how the leader of a democracy has to stand up under some sharp and searching questions from the press. It will be hard in the future for them to believe that this is a "capitalist lackey press."



Max Lerner

I should guess that Khrushchev is still leaving open a possible appearance at the UN session, and that when he comes to New York this time he will find the American TV channels open to him. I should also guess that he has some explaining to do to his Chinese allies, about why he takes a chance at exposing his people to a man who (in Chinese eyes) must head the "inevitable" capitalist war against the Communist world.

**PERHAPS** Khrushchev feels that he can afford to be expansive, with a number of signs indicating that he may yet get a Congo victory for the government of his henchman, Antoine Gizenga. If Gizenga's army rolls on trucks into Leopoldville, as seems likely within a week unless Mobutu and Tshombe get their men to make a stand against him, it will be a grimly funny anticlimax to the wrack and passion of the UN debates.

The fact is that while Hammarskjold has been calling for the Congolese leaders to establish sweetness and light, while Stevenson and Zorin have been polishing their periods, while Nkrumah has been sending telegrams to everyone, and while Kennedy and Rusk have been gravely warning the Russians against unilateral intervention, Khrushchev has been doing just one thing. He has been sending money to Gizenga, and behold—it works.

It works because the loyalties of the Congolese soldiers are not so firmly anti-Communist or anti-Russian as to be immune to some judicious greasing. The Gizanga trucks rolling through the villages offer more thai Marxist tracts; they offer a chance to set up an anti-Western regime, and have a well-heeled good time while doing it. The irony is that the profuse employment of money is another aspect of capitalism which the Communists have taken over. Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Stevenson are now likely to win the battle in the UN Security Council—and lose the war in the Congo.

■

**MEANWHILE** the anti-white atrocities in the Congo continue, regardless of their political label. As a member of the Meet the Press panel the other day, I asked Ambassador Padmore of Liberia how far this black-supremacy racism—a mocking reminder of the white-supremacy racism to which Africans had for generations been treated—was likely to go. I gathered he was distressed about it too.

I don't envy the British their present situation in Rhodesia. Nothing in recent years, since the Mau-Mau business in East Africa, has been as dangerous as the explosiveness of the white-black tensions in Sir Roy Welensky's domain. Welensky has tried to make capital out of the fears aroused among the whites by the Congolese racist excesses, and for a while he may succeed in sounding and standing like one of those last bastions. But the British should know by now that their best chance is a phased withdrawal from power and transfer of power to the educated elite of the majority of Africa's people.

# The Target . . . . . By Max Lerner

THE CONGO question at the UN is a hard one to resolve, but it is a simple one to state. It is a question of who is master of the fate of the UN—the members as a total body, or one member, the Soviet Union, who has sat in judgment on it, delivered the verdict, passed sentence, and is proclaiming its readiness to carry out the execution.



Max Lerner

Whoever may have done the murder of Patrice Lumumba—whether some hate-crazed Katanga villagers or the Katanga Government or its Belgian advisers—the enormity of the murder is a fact. But there is another fact now, so obvious that only the willfully blind fail to see it. It is that the Russians and their allies are determined to use the Lumumba death as a way of killing the UN—if they cannot have the kind of pliant stooge of a UN they wish.

■

**THERE IS,** of course, another Russian objective as well. It is to use the Lumumba tragedy as a way of winning a stronger Communist foothold in Africa. An African Negro politician has been killed—one who claimed to be Prime Minister of a new African state. Here surely is a Heaven-sent chance for the Russians to exploit the daemonic power of the color idea in Africa.

Hence the sound and the fury, the carefully staged spontaneous demonstrations in Moscow, Belgrade, Rome, Dakar, the mob scenes, the passion of protest, the overnight elevation of the young African politician to the company of the political saints.

Communists have had so much experience all over the world in exploiting the martyrdom of the moment that they now do it almost by a tropism. Nothing fits into their plans as easily as shock and grief. Never are they so cynically skillful as when they march arm-in-arm with Comrade death.

■

**YET WHILE THE GAINS** to be won in the African political war are a tempting target of the Russian tactics, the bigger target seems to be the UN. What is now clear is that Khrushchev's shoe-beating on the UN desk was not just a whimsical personal explosion of the moment, and that his drive against Hammarskjold has become a major Soviet policy.

Why? There can be only one answer which fits the facts we know. As long as the UN was an arena for debate, the Russians could use it to advantage. But with the dispatch of a UN military contingent into the Congo the UN went beyond the debating stage and threatened to become an order-enforcing body. Evidently the Russians view that as a major danger. If I am right in this, then there is scarcely any point at which they will stop in order to wreck this kind of UN.

■

**THE RUSSIANS CONTINUE** to subject Dag Hammarskjhold to an ordeal of invective, to which they now add boycott and may soon add a highly dramatized walkout. They are not interested in a rule of law in the UN., but in a rule of fury.

A UN rule of law would mean that if there were a threat to world peace anywhere in the world, through internal civil war and external intervention, the UN now has a precedent for moving in. The Congo operation has been a failure, yes, but the precedent is there and the next operation somewhere else may meet with success.

This is clear and present danger to a power which dares not use nuclear weapons and missles, and has agreed with China that the next phase of Communist advance must be by internal penetration and subversion.

■

**FROM KHRUSHCHEV'S** angle Hammarskjold refuses to learn. His great sin was that the UN intervention kept Lumumba from consolidating his regime and from establishing a Communist state in the heart of Africa.

# Middle Knowledge . . . . . By Max Lerner

FOR ONCE there is a mature debate among the psychiatrists on whether a dying person should be told about his death and face it, or be protected against it.

Two Harvard psychiatrists, Thomas Hackett and Avery Weishan, say that if the doctor and relatives are silent they condemn the dying person to dying in isolation, and that often it helps to know.



Mr. Lerner

A California psychiatrist, Charles Wahl, says that the impulse to tell the truth may express some drive in the relatives, but the strong drive in the dying person is to defend himself against the truth and to deny death.

**OBVIOUSLY MUCH** depends on who the dying person is, how long and well he has lived, what he is dying of.

You don't tell a child, under any circumstances: You don't dare add terror to tragedy.

You don't tell anyone, child or adult, who is afraid of the dark. You don't tell anyone whose defenses against reality are thin at best.

Even Drs. Hackett and Weisman agree that you ought not to tell cardiac cases, thus hastening their death by cutting away the hope which is their strongest ally in the fight.

Their belief that you ought to get the dying person to face of his death seems to be limited to the hopeless (terminal) cancer cases.

■

**IF I** were dying and doomed, I should prefer to know.

I have lived a crowded if misspent life, and I should want a chance to say decent farewells to the people and ideals I love, and come to terms with myself.

But a grown man who has sweated for a measure of strength, like Big Daddy in "Cat on the Hot Tin Roof," always finds at the end of his railing that it was better to be told and to know.

**THIS DOES** not, however, apply in every case.

My daughter Pamela Schofield died several weeks ago after a ten-year battle with cancer. She was a gallant, graceful creature.

Perhaps because we always thought there was hope until the last stage, she was never told the truth of her disease—not even in the last stage.

I think we were right. For at heart, lovely and loving. She clearly preferred it that way. There was no shamming, no elaborate grotesque game.

I think she had almost convinced herself. At twenty-eight, with a good marriage, two fine young sons and a talent in the arts, the vista of life was too attractive and demanding to be blanked out.

It was more than just what the psychiatrists call the strategies of ego defense. The life force within her dictated the denial.

■

**I DON'T** see how the doctors and psychiatrists can come up with any sort of rule.

I should say that it is the nature of the particular personality which sets the rule, and takes the decision away form those who are agonizing over it.

What I am suggesting is that the problem is not a moral problem, of whether the dying person should be made to face the fact of dying.

It is the deeper problem of inner knowledge—whether he senses his dying or not, and in what ways.

**THE TWO** Harvard psychiatrists have a phrase for it. They call it a "middle knowledge."

Pam had this middle knowledge, almost until the end. I am glad she did.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

# Rights sidetracked to bolster economy

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — As the "New Frontiers" program moves forward, it becomes more apparent that the Kennedy Administration, certainly at its beginning, will emphasize economic issues and leave civil rights exclusively for executive or administrative action.

In his economic message, which he sent to Congress on Feb. 2. President Kennedy proposed several measures designed "to alleviate the distress arising from unsatisfactory performance of the economy and to stimulate economic recovery and growth."

The measures he proposes to bolster the economy and revamp social security are of great interest to the colored community and, if enacted, would be particularly beneficial to the unemployed, children of jobless parents, persons receiving social security benefits, the poorly housed, and the aged who are in need of medical care.

**BUT THE** question which colored Americans must decide is: Are such benefits of more value than civil rights legislatior which is needed to move forward to first-class citizenship?

How will colored children profit from classrooms built with Federal funds unless the walls of segregation are completely knocked down?

How can young colored people entering the labor force compete on equal terms.

The rapid growth of the work force has been accompanied by an increase in its training and knowledge which has greatly affected workers' capacity to produce. An increasing number and complexity of skills are demanded in modern industry.

Employers have raised educational qualifications for many jobs, particularly the desirable ones.

# Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

## Sees Dismissal Of Suit Against JFK

WASHINGTON — Prediction: The District Court here will dismiss the suit against President Kennedy, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff, Secretary of the Treasury Douglas C. Dillon, and Mrs. Elizabeth R. Smith, Treasurer of the United States.

The suit was brought by Joe Jordan, Ed Dawley, and Len Holt, Norfolk attorneys, and Miss Barbara Thomas of Lynchburg and John A. Golden Jr., also of Norfolk.

They seek to enjoin the appropriation and disbursement of federal funds to racially segregated institutions.

Outgoing United States Attorney Oliver A. Gasch has already suggested to the court that it lacks jurisdiction over the President.

* * *

**FOLLOWING THE** suggestion, Judge Burnita Shelton Matthews ordered that the United States marshal hold the papers and not attempt to serve them on the President. William H. Orrick, an assistant attorney general, and Donald B. MacGuineas, a Justice Department attorney, have asked that the suit be dismissed as against Ribicoff, Dillon and Mrs. Smith.

The big hurdle the plaintiffs must overcome if they are to stay in court is that they are suing as citizens and taxpayers. The interest of a "citizen and taxpayer" is so minute and remote that it does not give them standing to challenge the allotment of federal funds to segregated institution.

Another hurdle is that the United States has never given consent to be sued in this type of case. The sovereign may only be sued by its consent.

The Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Treasurer of the United States do not appropriate funds. That is a function of the Congress.

* * *

**BUT IF THE** plaintiffs can manage to stay in court and win the case, they would enjoin the distribution of federal funds granted to the states in aid of vocational education, agriculture, trade, home economics, and industrial subjects.

They also would enjoin the distribution of federal funds for assisting blind persons to operate vending stands in Federal buildings; to provide education to students from foreign countries; to public school districts burdened as the result of federal activities; to the states in aid of extension of public library services to rural areas.

They also would enjoin distribution of federal funds to non-profit private agencies for research in the utilization of television, radio, etc., for educational purposes; to public or nonprofit institutions for training teachers of mentally retarded children.

Also to public school districts for construction of school facilities where the schools have had big increases in enrollment because of federal activities, and to the states for construction of hospitals and health research facilities.

* * *

**SENATOR SAM J. ERVIN** of North Carolina, who succeeded the late Senator Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Constitutional Rights subcommittee, which handles civil rights legislation, has been holding hearings on the civil rights of the mentally ill.

Lieut. Oscar W. White of Washington, D.C., a Signal Corps officer, has been selected to attend the United States Army Signal Corps School at Fort Monmouth, N.J., in June. Lieut. White is now on duty in Korea.

Capt. Harold Hutchinson and Capt. John M. Jenkins, Quartermaster officers and two of the first group of colored officers to be commissioned as Distinguished Military Graduates, are now assigned to the United States Army Quartermaster School at Fort Lee, Va.

Major Edward P. Waddy, a Wilberforce University graduate, now stationed at Fort Lawton, Wash., will retire on Apr. 30, upon completion of 20 years of active service. He is married to former WAC Major Harriet West.

# ICC hears plea for bus jimcrow ban

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA) — After listening to three hours of oral argument the Interstate Commerce Commission Tuesday took under consideration the petition of Attorney General Robert F. Kenedy banning racial segregation in bus travel.

While the proposed regulation relates to segregated seating in buses and to segregated use of terminal facilities utilized by interstate carriers, St. John Barrett, a Justice Department Civil Rights Division attorney, urged that all discrimination be outlawed.

If any discrimination is permitted, he told the Commission, the result is going to be that the interstate passenger is going to bear the brunt of it.

Lawyers for the motor carriers put up only token opposition to the proposed regulation.

**THE PETITION** of the Attorney General was supported by spokesmen for the NAACP, the Congress of the Southern Leadership Conference, the Freedom Coordinating Committee, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Outside the ICC building, "Freedom Riders" continued a round-the-clock prayer vigil while the hearing was going on. The vigil had begun at 8:15 p.m., Monday.

In a 60-minute argument, Mr. Barrett said the Attorney General's petition was addressed only to carriers engaged in interstate commerce.

He argued that protection of the Interstate Commerce Act forbidding unjust discrimination applies to all interstate passengers carried by interstate carriers.

It applies not only to discrimination in buses but to all terminal facilities used in interstate transportation, including terminal facilities which are operated or controlled by the carrier.

**WHERE A** carrier has a contract with an independent terminal operation to provide for passengers restroom, restaurant and other facilities, Mr. Barrett said, such facilities are clearly within the terms of the Act.

Mr. Barrett said the proposed regulation does not invade the states' exclusive control of intrastate transportation.

If a carrier is carrying both interstate and intrastate passengers in the same bus, Mr. Barrett asserted, the regulations apply to all passengers "but that is a necessary and unavoidable result by reason of mixing by the carrier of two types of passengers on the same vehicle."

The brief filed by the Justice Department contains thumbnail sketches of 22 complaints of racial discrimination on vehicles. Mr. Barrett added to that the complaint of the children of the Rev. F. W. Shuttlesworth of Birmingham, Ala, making 23 complaints of racial discrimination aboard buses.

He said these complaints are spread over 11 states, including Pennsylvania and New York, and relate to nine different carriers.

# Parsons' selection okayed by Senate

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA) — Swift Senate confirmation of Judge James B. Parsons of Chicago to be a United States judge for the Northern District of Illinois appeared likely Thursday.

Immediately after hearing Judge Parsons and his chief sponsor, Senator Paul Douglas, Illinois, Democrat, a Senate Judiciary subcommittee, headed by Senator Philip A. Hart, Michigan Democrat, approved the nomination.

There was no indication that any effort would be made by Southerners to hold up the nomination in the full Senate Judiciary Committee, of which Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi is chairman.

**NEITHER** Senator Eastland nor any of the other three Southern members of the Judiciary Committee appeared at the hearing to question Judge Parsons on his Constitutional views regarding the 14th Amendment and racial segregation.

In addition to Senator Eastland, other Southern members of the committee are Senator Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, John L. McClellan of Arkansas, and Sam J. Ervin of North Carolina.

Judge Parsons, however, took occasion to tell the subcommittee that he is conscious that his appointment as a Federal District Judge in the continental United States "is a 'first' for a group of people throughout the United States who have awaited an opportunity to become totally and fully a part of the American life."

**HE ADDED** that "it will be not just myself, nor the one friend of myself, Senator Douglas, who will be mounting the bench of the Northern District of Illinois, but it will also be 17,000,000 colored Americans."

Senator Douglas introduced Judge Parsons to the subcommittee, praised the nominee highly, and pointed out that Chicago newspapers have published "extremely laudatory" editorials concerning Judge Parsons' appointment.

In the 10 days since the appointment was announced by President Kennedy, Senator Douglas said his mail "has been uniformly favorable, and I believe this is going to be a most popular appointment."

Senator Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois, Senate Republican leader, who did not get back from Springfield, Ill., where he attended a State fair rally unofficially opening his campaign for reelection next year, also approved the nomination.

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**IN A NOTE** to the committee he said he felt "this nomination is excellent." Both the American Bar Association and the Illinois Bar Association also approved Judge Parsons' selection.

Judge Parsons read a prepared statement in which he said he has always believed that "a good federal trial judge should have intelligence, integrity, a knowledge of federal law and and judicial temperament."

To those qualities he added "(1) a sensitive regard for our judicial system and the desire to perfect and protect it, (2) a deep-seated attachment to our form of government and to the democratic ideal, (3) A passion to 'know the facts,' in detail and in the large."

* * *

**HE WENT** on that a federal trial judge should have "(4) the ability to believe in people and to inspire them to respond to the call to greatness, (5) an abundance of patience and kindness, (6) an instinct for justice and fairness, and (7) the capacity for hard work.

"As a United States District Court judge it will be my solemn undertaking to apply all of these qualities to the performance of my duties."

Senator John A. Carroll, Colorado Democrat, the only other subcommitte member present besides Senator Hart, pointed out to Judge Parsons that he has a lifetime appointment and that some Federal judges let the great power they have go to their heads . . .

* * *

**"CAN YOU** wipe out of your mind the fact that you were a prosecutor?" Senator Carroll asked.

"I believe that in the eight months in which I have served on the Superior Court bench I have come to realize that a judge is not an advocate except that he must be an advocate against injustice," Judge Parsons replied.

Judge Parsons, who has presided over the 10-week trial of the police burglary case in Chicago, recessed his court and took the day off, he said, "by consent of the lawyers on both sides," to appear before the subcommittee.

He was elected to the Cook County Superior Court bench on Nov. 8. Assigned to the trial of criminal jury cases, since he went on the bench he has disposed of 163 cases, and is presently bringing to a close the police burglary case, one of the major conspiracy cases in Cook County's history.

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**FOR NINE YEARS**, Judge Parsons was an Assistant United States Attorney. He was appointed in 1951, but when the Republicans took over in 1953 United States Attorney Robert Tieken kept him on as one of his major prosecutors.

From 1955 to 1960 he handled all internal security matters and supervised the handling of all Selective Service, Secret Service and bank embezzlement cases. He resigned on Aug. 31, 1960, to run for the Superior Court bench.

Born in Kansas City, Mo., Aug. 13, 1911, Judge Parsons grew up in Decatur, Ill. His father, a Disciples of Christ minister, and his mother, a school teacher, are deceased.

* * *

**HE ATTENDED** school in Decatur and did his undergraduate work at Milliken University and Conservatory of Music. He financed his schooling by working as a composing room helper at Decatur Herald-Review.

After graduation from Milliken in 1934, he taught at Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Mo. From 1940 to 1942 he was music supervisor in the colored public schools of Greensboro, N.C. A veteran, he served as a musician in the Navy for three years.

He received both an M.A. and a law degree from the University of Chicago and was admitted to the Illinois Bar in 1949.

31a 1961

# CAPITAL SPOTLIGHT

Birmingham World

By LOUIS LAUTIER For NNPA

## "Dropped By"

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, who was billed as the "featured speaker" at the anniversary Founders banquet of the Golden anniversary convention of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, merely "dropped by" and made a few brief remarks.

Birmingham Ala

The banquet honored the three living founders of the fraternity — Dr. Oscar J. Cooper, Bishop Edgar A. Love, and Prof. Frank Coleman.

Carl Moultrie, secretary of the fraternity, who is angling to be a New Frontiersman, asked the fratiersman, asked the fraternity to create an assistant secretaryship.

Duke Ellington and County Basie were two of the bands that played for the fraternity during the four-day meeting, during which Kennedy Administration appointees were paraded .

The Administration appointees included Robert C. Weaver, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency; Walter N. Ridley, District of Columbia Recorder of Deeds; Frank Williams, assistant director of the Peace Corps; Oliver W. Hill, asistant for intergroup relations to the Federal Housing Administration Commissioner; Frank D. Reeves, District of Columbia Democratic National Committeeman (an elective office); George L. P. Weaver, Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs, and Carl Rowan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. They are all Omegas.

**"DEAL MADE"**

A deal already has been made on the proposal to change Senate rules so as to curb filibusters. The Democratic and Republican Senate leadership have agreed to call up a resolution to change the rules and then after a sham battle to lay it aside until the next session of Congress.

Two newspaper publishers were among the 1200 delegates attending the Omega convention. They were William O. Walker, publisher of the Cleveland Call and Post, and John Sengstacke, publisher of the Chicago Defender.

They attended the hearing before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee on the nomination of Judge James B. Parks of Chicago to be a Federal District Court judge.

After the hearing they were guests at a luncheon given by Senator Paul Douglas, Illinois Democrat, for Judge Parson.

Mrs. Walker accompanied her husband to the convention, after which they went to Atlantic City, N. J., for an indefinite vacation.

Mr. and Mrs. John Johnson of the Johnson Publishing Company, publishers on Jet and Ebony, were among representatives of various news media who attended a two-day background State Department briefing. Also attending was Samuel Hoskins of the Afro American.

Lancaster received his bachelor of arts degree in economics in June from Howard University. He was active in a number of student activities there, serving as president of the Economics Club and secretary of the Business Club.

In training at Pennsylvania State University for service in the Peace Corps as a teaching assistant in the Philippines is Brenda A. Brown, 22, of Baltimore, who received her degree in English at Morgan State College in June.

**TEACHING COURSE**

Dr. E. E. Essien-Udom of Nigeria, a Fellow at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard, is teaching assignments in Nigeria.

University College at Ibadan, Nigeria, is cooperating with Harvard in the conduct of the training program.

Prof. Andrew Taylor of the University College is lecturing to Peace Corps trainees at Harvard on the Nigerian educational system.

He has had executive experience in working with youth groups at the Fellowship House in Washington and with an American Friends Service Committee group in Turkey.

**VARIED COURSES**

Peace Corps volunteers who are selected to go to Ghana will teach mathematics, English, chemistry, physics, biology, general science and French. They will be supervised by Ghana's Ministry of Education and the headmasters and headmistresses of the schools to which they are assigned.

A recent Ford Foundation study, reporting on the need for teachers in Ghana, especially those at the secondary school level, found that more than 1,800 new secondary school teachers would be required in the next 10 years.

NEGRO (LOUIS LAUTIER)

Peace Corps volunteers trained at the University of California studied Ghana's economy, geography, culture and traditions, her modern history and governmental structure.

Enoch Waters ,editor of the Associated Negro Press, left New York Monday for a 100-day tour of 32 African countries.

# Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

## Nixon Would Like Ribicoff To Buy

Washington hears that Gov. Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut is dickering with Vice President Nixon for the purchase of the Nixon home at 4308 Forest Lane, which Mr. and Mrs. Nixon moved into after their African safari in 1957.

Not that it matters, but the property has no restrictive covenant on it. The Nixons, however, would like nothing better than to sell to Gov. and Mrs. Ribicoff to offset the attacks made on him during the campaign because the house he bought in Spring Valley in 1951 was covered by a covenant.

Louis Martin, the Chicago newsman, is working with the Democratic National Committee in what is euphemistically called the "talent hunt." Actually, Martin is screening persons, who want jobs, claiming they supported Senator John F. Kennedy for President before the President - elect routed the opposition in West Virginia.

The persons who are cleared by Martin must also be cleared by Rep. William L. Dawson of Illinois, the Democratic patronage committee, and the FBI.

* * *

**THERE ARE MORE** applicants than there are jobs outside of the Federal civil service. But a lot of the aspirants will not be able to stand an FBI check, even though they say their records are clean.

One of the names Martin has is that of Henry Walker of East Chicago, Ind. Walker, who attended the one - day conference on Majority Rule in Congress, is credited with registering 48,700 colored persons to vote in Indiana. He says Indiana now has between 116,000 and 120,000 colored voters.

It's too bad about E. Frederic Morrow, a member of President Eisenhower's White House staff. He's singing "I've Got a Right to Sing the Blues." He doesn't want to step aside for a deserving Democrat but wants another plush job, preferably in the foreign service.

He says he does not want to go back to the "racial barrier jungle" after having fought himself out of it —that he was offered a job with a brokerage firm at twice his $18,000 yearly salary, but money isn't the point.

I know a lot of guys who would sell bonds to Hottentots for $36,000 a year. I also know men like Judge William H. Hastie, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, Robert C. Weaver and Percy Julian, who won recognition by their sheer ability, but they never pitied themselves nor wanted to desert colored people.

* * *

**THINGS ARE** a lot different now than they were in the days of President Andrew Jackson. The motto then was: "To the victors belong the spoils." Most Government jobs are now protected by the Federal civil service. But there are some jobs which are outside the merit system — and they go to the party faithful.

Andy Hatcher, who will be associate White House press Secretary when President-elect Kennedy moves into the White House on Jan. 20, spent the Christmas holidays with his family in San Francisco.

Among those who attended the Conference on Majority Rule in Congress, held at the Mayflower Hotel here Wednesday, were: Theodore A. Brown, of the AFL - CIO Committee Against Discrimination; Bill Oliver, Detroit, representing the United Automobile Workers Committee Leon Higginbotham, Jr., an attorney and president of the Philadelphia Branch of the NAACP.

Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Mitchell of Baltimore, who left their two sons on a picket line in Baltimore; L. Joseph Overton, New York City business agent, Local 338, Retail Wholesale and Chain Union, AFL - CIO; Mr. and Mrs. Belford Lawson (Marjorie), who were among the original backers of Kennedy for President.

Judge Hubert Delany of New York City, George L. P. Weaver of the AFL - CIO and a member of the District of Columbia Democratic executive committee; Frank Reeves, District of Columbia Democratic National Committeeman, who is slated for a big job with the Kennedy Administration; Louis Martin of the Democratic National Committee, Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, who presided at the luncheon session, and Dr. John A. Morsell, his assistant.

* * *

**SOME OF THE** jobs which the Eisenhower Administration filled with Republicans and may now be open for replacements by Democrats are: Delegate or Alternate Delegate to the United Nations General Assembly, capably filled in the last session by Mrs. Zelma George of Cleveland; and governorship of the Virgin Islands.

# Says Jail-Ins Hurting Race

By LOUIS LAUTIER

(Washington Correspondent For N.N.P.A.)

THE MARTYRDOM which students seek by accepting jail sentences after having staged demonstrations in restaurants to protest against racial discrimination does not make sense.

The "jail-in" tactics actually hurt the young people who are acquiring police records which may haunt them in later life. The arrest statistics which these young people are piling up also injure colored people generally by making them appear to be more criminal than they are.

Any adult advising jail-ins ought to have his head examined.

Of course, the sit-down demonstrations served several useful purposes:

1. They dramatized the issue of the refusal of variety and other stores to serve colored customers at their lunch counters.

2. They raised cases to test the validity of the application of trespass, disorderly conduct, breach of of the peace, and unlawful assembly laws.

But once a test case has found its way into the courts in a given locality or a state, the wisdom of staging demonstrations for the purpose of getting arrested and going to jail is questionable.

**THE CASTE SYSTEM**

Such tactics may have worked in India under Mahatma Gandhi, Hindu nationalist leader, against British rule. In Ghandhi's lifetime the caste system was deeply entrenched among the Hindus. India has outlawed the caste system but there are still places there where a low-caste Hindu may not even drink at the public well.

Moreover, the people of India are wretchedly poor. Many of them now have no place to sleep except the streets of New Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay and other towns and hamlets. They may be seen early in the morning getting up off the sidewalks where they have spent the night and rolling up the rags on which they slept and which represent their wordly treasurer.

To the masses of people in India jail certainly offered more shelter than they had.

But these are not the conditions in the United States. Colored people here are simply fighting for ist class citizenship. Going to jail is not advancing that goal.

The courts here are the proper forum for a determination of questions which have arisen out of the sit-down demonstrations. A number of cases are now in the process of reaching decision by the highest court of the land.

The NAACP is seeking a review by the Supreme Court of three cases in which the questons and facts are identical.

Baton Rouge, La., police arrested John Burrell, Jannette Hoston and Mary Briscoe, students at Southern University, for violating a state law making criminal "any other act committed in such a manner as to unreasonably disturb or alarm the pubic."

These students had merely requested non-segregated service at three different lunch counters in stores where they were otherwise welcome.

**THE ISSUES**

In these cases, the NAACP wants the Supreme Court to decide:

1. That mere refusal to move from a lunch counter seat when ordered to do so by an agent of the stores does not constitute a disturbance of the peace and the law under which the arrests were made is unconstitutional because it deprives defendants of their constitutional rights.

2. That there was no disturbance of the peace except for the activities in which the defendants engaged, to protest segregation, and the use of the criminal process in such a situaton deprives defendants of their constitutional rights.

The American Civil Liberties Union is also seeking a Supreme Court review of two lunch-counter sit-down cases from Florida.

In those cases, a group of colored students were refused service at a Woolworth's lunch counter in Tallahassee, Fla., Feb. 20, 1960 and four white students who sought service for colored students in the same store were arrested on March

Police arrested both groups on orders of the city's mayor. The colored and white students were convicted in Municipal Court of disorderly conduct, breaches of the peace, and unlawful assembly. The convictions were upheld by the Leon County Circuit Court.

The American Civil Liberties Union contends that the convictions violated the students' rights of free speech and liberty to seek contracts privately by persuading the store to serve them food.

"The legal, moral, and social issues raised by the cases at bar are of nation-wide importance," the ACLU asserts in its petition for review.

The ACLU has also asked a three judge Federal District Court at Richmond to pass on the constitutionality of Virginia's anti-trespass law in cases involving more than 100 defendants.

Virginia amended its anti-trespass law in 1960 in an effort to reach the sit-down demonstrations.

The brief filed with the court points out that over 100 individuals "are threatened with a criminal prosecution for asserting their right to dignified treatment by various commercial establishments."

In addition to these cases, the legality of convictions in sit-down demonstrations is being tested in numerous other state courts. Thurgood Marshall, director-counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, has reported that 75 lawyers throughout the country are now engaged in defending students who participated in sit-downs.

Surely the students who are now staging demonstrations to get arrested and go to jail should quit such nonsense and let the courts decide the issues.

# House Rules Unit Tiff May End In Compromise

## Lawmakers seek to avoid roll call

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) —Although President Kennedy has swung his support behind the plan of Speaker Sam Rayburn to increase the size of the powerful House Rules Committee, eleventh hour efforts were being made to find a compromise solution.

The House is due to vote this week on a resolution which would enlarge the committee from its present membership of 12 to 15 while maintaining the present ratio on the two parties. ewetbeDbetween the two parties. Democrats would have 10 members and Republicans five. At present, eight members are Democrats and four are Republicans.

The fight on enlarging the committee has become so hot and the heat being turned on is so intense that a number of members were reported shuing away from a vote. They do not want a roll-call vote; they would not like a teller where they would have to line up and walk down an aisle of the House and be counted, and a voice vote would give the Speaker the advantage.

* * *

**MR. RAYBURN** decided to pack the committee rather than meet the issue of party desertion by a purge. Liberal Democrats wanted to purge Representative William Colmer of Mississippi from the committee. Mr. Colmer did not support the national Democratic ticket in the November election.

But Mr. Rayburn decided against purging anybody. By adding two Democrats to the committee he thought he could break the southern Democrat-Republican coalition by which two southern Democrats, Colmer and Representative Howard Smith of Virginia, the committee chairman, could join with the four Republicans and block much of the Kennedy legislative program.

But Smith opposed Rayburn's plan. House Republicans voted overwhelmingly to oppose it. Southern Democrats split. But apparently enough of them lined up with Smith and House Republican Leader Charles Halleck to give them the edge in a showdown, and Mr. Rayburn postponed action on the resolution from Thursday to Tuesday to give him more time to line up support.

* * *

**NO MATTER** which way the fight goes, civil rights legislation is not expected to be materially affected. Mr. Rayburn has kept the committee loaded with Southerners. In addition to Smith and Colmer, bitter foes of civil rights legislation, there are two other southern members — Representatives James W. Trimble of Arkansas and Homer Thornberry of Texas.

On civil rights legislation, four northern Democrats — Representatives Ray J. Madden of Indiana, James J. Delaney of New York, Richard Bolling of Missouri, and Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., of Massachusetts — have usually joined with three Republicans, Representatives Leo E. Allen of Illinois, Clarence Brown of Ohio, and B. Carroll Reece of Tennessee, to vote to send such legislation to the House floor for action.

* * *

**MR. RAYBURN** reportedly intends to add another southerner, Representative Carl Elliott of Alabama, who is regarded as liberal on social and economic legislation, and John E. Moss, a California liberal.

There are at present two Republican vacancies. If the size of the committee is increased, Mr. Halleck will have three places to fill. He is certain to name conservative Republicans to these places.

* * *

**IT IS THE DUTY** of the Rules Committee to determine which of the thousands of bills introduced each session

# Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

## More 'New Frontiers' Appointments Slated

After nearly three weeks of the "New Frontiers" the White House is still jumping with the excitement of the new Administration.

President Kennedy has decided to appoint Cecil Poole as either a Federal District Court judge or the United States Attorney at San Francisco. Poole is currently the secretary to Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown of California.

In either position, Poole would be a "first"—the first colored person appointed United States Attorney in the continental United States.

Judge William H. Haste of the Third United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Philadelphia, retired Judge Herman E. Moore, and Judge Walter Gordon, who is currently on the bench, have served as District Court judges but in the Virgin Islands.

Marjorie Lawson, the mate of Belford V. Lawson, is definitely under consideration for several jobs, but the White House is not saying which one she is most likely to get.

**THE COLORED** persons to whom President Kennedy is most indebted—outside of Representative William L. Dawson — are the Lawsons.

Dawson bagged the colored vote which insured the election of Senator Kennedy as President. But the Lawsons took up with Senator Kennedy, or Senator Kennedy took up with the Lawsons, when no colored persons outside of Massachusetts, except Roy Wilkins, knew him—and Roy was neither speaking to him nor answering his letters.

Belford is the one who introduced Senator Kennedy to colored people, arranged to have him invited to address colored gatherings, and also advised him when and where to make donations to worthy causes.

**FRANK D. REEVES**, who has been appointed a special assistant to the President and gives the NAACP a pipeline into the White House, did not get on the Kennedy bandwagon until shortly before the Democratic national convention in Los Angeles last summer, after Senator Kennedy had badly beaten Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, for whom Frank was campaigning, in the Wisconsin and West Virginia Presidential preference primaries.

Belford appears to be on the outside looking in. But if anyone deserves a juicy plum, on both her own account and that of her husband, it is Marjorie—a Juvenile Court judgeship, despite the Dixiecrats, or a diplomatic post in Northern, Western or Eastern Europe.

Dr. John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State University and chairman of the Civil Rights Commission, met with President Kennedy Friday afternoon. The President asked him to continue as commission chairman.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell, chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, with Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, met with President Kennedy Thursday afternoon. They discussed minimum wage and housing legislation, which both the President and Powell are anxious to get going.

**PIERRE SALINGER**, Presidental press secretary, was asked whether the President invited Powell to come in and see him or whether Powell requested the appointment. Salinger did not know the answer but promised to get it.

The White House has prescribed formal dress for male guests at the diplomatic reception Wednesday evening. They will wear formal short coats, either single or double-breasted, striped trousers, and either a gray or a gray and black necktie.

In addition to President and Mrs. Kennedy, Vice President and Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson will be in the receiving line. The 97 heads of foreign missions, who are in the United States, including the Africans, and their wives will be the guests along with the chiefs of missions accredited to the Organization of American States and their wives, plus members of the State Department's Protocol Office.

For the first time in the history of the Gridiron Club, an organization of newspapermen which lampoons the President, members of Congress and top Government officials at a dinner each year, colored guests will be invited

# Capital Spotlight

By Louis Lautier

## Still Have Long Way To Go In Politics

Colored Americans still have a long way to go before they achieve the political recognition to which they are entitled.

That is well illustrated by the appointment by President Kennedy of Judge James B. Parsons of Chicago to be a Federal District judge in the Northern District of Illinois.

It is no reflection on President Kennedy to say this, for Judge Parsons, through the insistence of Senator Paul Douglas, Illinois Democrat, will become the first colored lawyer ever to serve as a Federal District judge in the continental United States.

But the picture comes into focus when the total of five colored judges is weighed against a total of 436 federal judgeships.

* * *

HERE IS THE box score:

United States Supreme Court — Nine justices, none colored.

Court of Customs and Patent Appeals — Chief judge and four associate judges, none colored.

(The United States Court of Customs and Patent Appeals has exclusive jurisdiction in appeals for judgments of the United States Customs Court in all cases involving the construction of the law and facts respecting the classification of merchandize and the rate of duty imposed, and all appealable questions as to the laws and regulations governing the collection of customs revenue.

(Its decisions are final unless taken to the Supreme Court.

(The court also has exclusive jurisdiction of appeals from the Tariff Commission on question of law only and in the matter of unfair practices in import trade, and appellate jurisdiction from decisions of the Patent Office in patent and trademark cases, except those involving equity.)

* * *

**UNITED STATES CUSTOMS COURT** — Chief judge and eight judges, two colored, Judge Irvin C. Mollison, appointed by President Truman in October, 1945; Judge Scovel Richardson, appointed by President Eisenhower April 8, 1957.

(The United States Customs Court has exclusive jurisdiction over civil actions arising under the tariff laws, the internal revenue laws relating to imported merchandise, the several customs simplification acts, the proclamations of the president issued under reciprocal trade agreements, and other proclamations imposing taxes or quotas on imported goods.

(The court also has appellate jurisdiction of cases litigating the value of imported merchandise. It tries cases without a jury, making finding of fact and applying the law.)

* * *

**UNITED STATES COURT OF CLAIMS** — Chief judge and four associate judges, none colored.

(The Court of Claims has jurisdiction of all cases involving claims against the United States, except pension suits, or claims arising out of any contract with the Federal Government, and claims for the refund of taxes.

(It has exclusive jurisdiction to review the decisions of the Indian Claims Commission on appeal from the commission.)

United States Circuit Courts of Appeals—Seventy-eight chief judges and one colored, Judge William H. Hastie of the Third Circuit with headquarters at Philadelphia.

(There are 11 Courts of Appeal.)

United States District Courts — 308 judgeships, two colored, Judge Walter A. Gordon of the District Court of the Virgin Islands and Judge Parsons of the District Court for the Northern District of Illinois.

(There are 91 district courts.)

* * *

**TAX COURT** of the United States — Chief judge and 16 judges, none colored.

(The Tax Court hears and decides cases involving income tax deficiencies and claims for refund of excess profits taxes under special relief sections of the Internal Revenue Code, and cases involving determinations of excessive profits on contracts renegotiated by the Federal Government.)

The United States Court of Military Appeals — chief judge and two judges, none colored.

(The United States Court of Military Appeals serves as the court of last resort for all of the more serious court-martial convictions of military personnel.)

31a 1961

# Using Your MONEY

By Norman J. McGhee

The Courier
3 Pittsburgh, Pa.

## To Buy In

THERE is no question in my mind that the Negro youth of this country are right in prosecuting their "sit-in" campaign for "human dignity" in the use of public accommodations in stores, conveyances, theatres and the like.

In these "sit-in" efforts, I think the Negro youth is setting an example of self-advancement towards citizenship equality which should arouse the older Negro from his erstwhile lethargic acceptance of things as they are.

What bothers me is that we, of the older Negro group, do not realize how necessary it is to do our part in bringing about integration in all areas of living. Why it is we cannot seem to recognize that we must "buy in" to secure economic integration is beyond me to understand.

■

**I HAVE OFTEN** referred in these columns to the condition of people in other countries where the question of color presents no barrier. In those countries it is a matter of economics. The struggle is between "have" and the "have-nots."

**• So it will be in these United States for future Negro citizens unless preparation is made now, simultaneously with the "sit-in" campaign seeking the elimination of restrictions based on race and color.**

We just must conduct campaigns throughout the United States to obtain larger participation in the economic affairs of the nation.

The masses of the Negro people must be aroused about this, and inspired by the example of their leaders to acquire share ownership in the industrial and banking companies in their communities. When a "buy in" campaign of this sort is engaged upon and determinedly followed, the Negro people of this country will be ready to enjoy the victories achieved on the "sit-in" front.

## My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

IT SEEMS authentic that Russia has sent Major Yuli Sagarin into space and brought him back to earth in good physical condition. Two hundred miles up in the air is a long way.

I am not a scientist, but I suppose this event paves the way for an exploration of the planets, the moon and other heavenly bodies.



Dr. Mays

They are already saying that this triumph of Russia's is equal to the primitive man who invented fire and the Wright brothers who invented the airplane. If this proves to be true, and I think it is, this is indeed a revolutionary feat.

It shows that the Russian scientists are first-rate and outstanding. And yet, I agree with President Kennedy when he says there is no need for us to be alarmed. It does mean, however, that in this particular Russia is ahead of the United States.

That this event has great scientific implications no one can deny, but there are other implications which may prove dangerous and fatal.

**IT CERTAINLY** means that the United States and all of the so-called great powers are going to try with might and main to put a man into space.

Millions, yea, millions of dollars will be spent in this effort. It perhaps has dangerous implications. It probably means that man could be wiped off the face of the earth and nobody would quite know what had hit him nor from whence it came.

Nations will be competing to control outer space and other planets as they are competing now to control the earth. If this gets off a wild competitive arms race, it could end up in disaster to mankind.

In fact, this whole arms race has always disturbed me. I cannot see how the nations of the earth can continue to compete in arms without eventually competing in war itself. And, the weapons of war are too deadly for mankind to fight another war.

If the nations continue to spend billions upon billions of dollars in competitive arms, these arms will eventually clash. If there can be no disarmament, and if the arms race cannot be controlled, only an act of God can save mankind.

**THE KENNEDY** Administration is especially sensitive to the danger described above, and also this Administration understands that the home front cannot be neglected. While we spend billions for arms, the unemployed must be employed and the infirmed must be cared for.

Our problem is more difficult than that of Russia's.

Russia is a totalitarian country and the party speaks the final word. Furthermore, the standard of living in Russia is low.

They know nothing about the high standard of living such as we have in America and they are perhaps more willing to sacrifice high standards of living. Then, too, I understand that the Russian machines operate on a 24-hour basis.

I do not wish to sound pessimistic, but the future is not wholly bright for the peoples of the earth.

## My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

LAST week, I wrote an article under the caption, "Will We Take Advantage of New Opportunities?"

I know that a few will, but I also know that many will not. Adult leaders must do everything in their power to encourage Negroes to take advantage of new opportunities that have come their way and will continue to come.



Dr. Mays

For example, decision is that the buses are desegregated. The leadership is likely to advise the Negro people how to behave so that no incident will occur as a result of desegregation.

Too often we stop short at that point and do not urge Negroes to sit as normally in the desegregated bus as they did in the segregated one.

■

**IN A SEGREGATED** bus people usually sit where there is a vacancy.

If a whole row of seats is vacant, people usually make it to the vacant row rather than crowd in with someone they do not know. Negroes do not run to the back in a segregated bus. They certainly do not begin in the back and move toward the front.

This should be the normal pattern in a desegregated bus. People become accustomed to riding together by riding together.

■

**NEGROES DO** not prefer to be with Negroes just because they are Negroes.

What happens in the bus cases obtains in desegregated waiting rooms. It also happens in desegregated diners on trains. It is quite all right for Negroes to sit together in a diner, but I have seen it again and again where the Negro will not wait for the steward to seat him, but if he sees a vacancy at a table, where another Negro is sitting, he makes a bee line for that table. This is understandable.

Negroes have been unwanted so long and snubbed so much that they feel they should not take the initiative and sit down next to a white person.

■

**I WISH** we would wait for the steward to seat us. Very few stewards now will try to put all Negroes together.

One way to tackle this is through ministerial leadership. The ministers still speak to more people than any other person in the community.

Negro minister has an opportunity to talk with his people and show them that it is their responsibility to desegregate travel facilities and not continue the practice of segregation where legally it no longer exists.

■

**THIS IS** difficult for some ministers to do, because some Negro ministers crowd the Negro waiting rooms too when going across state lines.

It is true that intra-state passengers are supposed to ride in segregated coaches and sit in segregated waiting rooms.

And yet, I do not believe anyone would stop to question a passenger in the waiting room about his destination.

Next week I will talk about the job situation.

## My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

RALPH HELSTEIN, president of the United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers, caused an on-the-scene investigation of Tent City.

Walter Reuther writes in the foreword of this pamphlet the following: "Physically and psychologically, Moscow, Tenn., is worlds apart from its Soviet namesake.



Dr. Mays

Yet, the grim struggle now being waged just outside the small Tennessee community has deep implications for the great and ideological contest with the Moscow of the Kremlin.

"The struggle in Tennessee came into focus when Tent City was established on the property of Shepard Towles, a Negro farmer. The 20 adults and 56 children who settled in Tent City last January are tenant farmers evicted from their homes because they dared to exercise their democratic right to vote."

■

**THIS BROCHURE** is one that should be widely read. The author tells the story of how a ragged little girl found on the streets of Naples, Italy, came to the attention of the radio announcer in Memphis.

He pointed out that the little girl was cold, undernourished and without a home. The Memphis announcer went on to say that help might be given to the little girl in Naples by sending gifts to an overseas relief agency.

And yet, 40 or 50 miles away was Tent City. Right there in the back door of Memphis, children and adults are cold, hungry and homeless. It seems pretty clear that it all came about because the people wanted to vote.

■

**THERE ARE** something like 21,000 Negroes in Fayette County, Tenn.

The white population is about one-third, 7,500. The brochure points out that the Negroes in Fayette County are not illiterate.

These facts make them want to vote.

In a way this is a duplication of Tuskegee. In a way it is a duplication of South Africa. Where Negroes outnumber the white people, as a rule they become panic stricken.

■

**DESPITE THE** work of the White Citizens Council and other un-American activities, Negroes continue to flock to the court house in Summerville, Tenn., to register.

You cannot read this brochure without recognizing the fact that the Negroes in Tent City are courageous and brave.

We sing in the "Star Spangled Banner" about the land of the free and the home of the brave, but when Negroes undergo what they have undergone in Fayette County, Tenn., it can hardly be said that that is the land of the free and the home of the brave.

This pamphlet is publication No. 36, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, 815 16th St., N. W., Washington 6, D.C.

Only the naive and the stupid can live in this world without seeing clearly that no group receives at the hands of the strong what is just and right without struggle, struggle, struggle.

## My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

## Can One Be?

A FEW DAYS ago when a solicitor sought funds in the North for a liberal arts college located in Atlanta which has just desegregated by admitting nine Negroes to white high schools, the man solicited asked the question:

"Why do you need colleges for Negroes when Atlanta has desegregated and that if one Negro enters a white school that death-knell to Negro colleges.



Dr. Mays

This man may have used this as an excuse for not giving, but it cuts deeper. If a Negro can enroll in a white school, he has entered a better school for no other reason than that it is a white school. And yet, there are scores of white colleges that are far inferior to many Negro colleges.

But there are colleges for whites and therefore they have a right to exist, however inferior. Unfortunately, both some whites and some Negroes think like this.

■

**I AM SURE** this Northern gentleman never thought it through. One hundred forty Negroes sought entrance to white high schools in Atlanta and only 10 were selected.

The dice were loaded, so that only a few students could qualify. It will take 10 years to desegregate the public schools of Atlanta.

Collegiate-wise, only three or four Negroes are enrolled in a white college in Atlanta, Georgia Tech.

I am certain that desegregation will be speeded up, but at the present rate of desegregation since 1954, it will take the deep South 90 years to completely desegregate its public schools.

**AND YET,** if every public school in the South desegregated today, and if every white college in the South desegregated tomorrow, the colleges for Negroes would have as many students as they could handle.

I, for one, would like to see every college in the United States thoroughly desegregated. I have no fear of desegregation. I also have no fear of the future of Negro colleges when desegregation comes. Certainly, the best of the Negro colleges will surmount the change.

We want to see schools desegregated. But we must see the thing as it is. The world has praised Atlanta for integrating without violence and rightly so.

**BUT THE TIME,** energy, worry and money spent to get nine Negroes into white schools in Atlanta is a sad picture. Progress? Yes. But let us not count it more than it is. Nine Negroes out of many, many thousands are in white schools with whites.

Here is the dilemma that we face. As we fight to desegregate the schools we must also fight for "separate but equal." If we do not, segregated Negro schools will become increasingly more inferior in buildings, equipment and in overcrowding.

This is a sad picture, but we must face it. Since Negro schools will be segregated for some time, Negro leaders must see to it that Negroes in these segregated schools get a good education.

# My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh Courier

## Voices From the Field

WE ARE ACCUSTOMED to having non-professionals tell us what our racial policy does to us abroad but it is rare that we read what American missionaries themselves say about it. 1-9 Sec. 7



Dr. Mays

Recently, a Southerner wanted to know what the missionaries in his denomination had to say. Some of their replies were published in the weekly bulletin of his church. I quote some of their statements:

Oct. 12-9-61 VENEZUELA: "Either we solve our problems in the racial field on a sincere basis of Christian love and appreciation, or we can go down as the propagators of the greatest hypocritical religious farce in history. Time is against us, either we move, now, or wish we had."

ARGENTINA: "Because these people see no color line, it is hard for them to realize why we in the States hold so rigidly to the practice of segregation. It creates hostile feelings toward the missionary and the message that he claims is for men of all races and colors . . . Try as he may, the missionary cannot escape the results of the attitudes and actions of his country and the group that sends him out."

BRAZIL: "Anything you can do to help improve the situation at home will also help to advance God's Kingdom here and on our other mission fields."

Pittsburgh, Pa.

**ITALY:** "Every American associated with the Negro question, and is automatically assumed as being one who dislikes Negroes; this is bad enough. But, it is worse when one's religious affiliation is also associated . . . with such a view . . . We try to defend the Baptists of our homeland, finding it strangely hard to cite examples where Baptists of the South have done much to better the relations between black and white."

JAPAN: "Missionaries would like for our churches to lead out in this matter and take a definite stand for equal rights of all men regardless of color . . . I feel positive action by our churches would help in the U.S.A. and around the world."

■

**PHILIPPINES:** "Everything America does concerning the race problem is front-page news in all of the newspapers here in the Philippines . . . Buddhism and Mohammedanism will say to those whom they are trying to win, 'if you will accept our faith, we will look upon you as a brother.'"

SOUTHERN RHODESIA: "The strong feeling in Africa today is that Christianity is the religion of the white man, and that the Moslem faith is for the African . . . Our hearts are made heavy by the attitude of our own South is showing toward their race problem there."

These words are more impressive than anything Nixon or Kennedy might say. These people are living among the people. They know. But I fear these words mean nothing to the prejudiced mind.

# My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

Pittsburgh Courier

## The Unique Role of the Negro College

A FEW nights ago, I sat next to a man who recruits for Harvard University. They draw students from all over the world. The Harvard recruiter told me that they take men from the upper 10 per cent of the high school graduating classes and often the upper 5 per cent. Out of 5,000 applicants, Harvard takes 1,200. Even accepting applicants from the upper 5 or 10 per cent, they accept 1,200 out of 5,000. This is competition with a vengeance. I saw recently that 54 per cent of the 1961 graduating class at Harvard graduate with honors. One of the women colleges beat Harvard with 63 per cent of the 1961 graduating class receiving honors.



Dr. Mays

Feb. 12-9-61

It will be a long day before any Negro colleges will be able to reach the Harvard standard. Only a handful of colleges in the country can duplicate this. Most of these students that Harvard takes have had superior educational and cultural advantages from childhood. Harvard and a few others can do this type of screening. Negro colleges and most white colleges cannot.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

**WHAT IS** the unique function of the Negro college? It must set out in earnest to raise its academic standard. Whereas now our top students do well in the best graduate schools including Chicago, Harvard, Yale, Columbia, California and Massachusetts Institutes of Technology, the number of students who go there from our colleges is too small.

There are thousands of Negro students who are potentials to do graduate work at Chicago or Harvard who would never be accepted as a freshman by these schools and who would not qualify from high school for a National Merit Scholarship. But after spending four years in our colleges, they will be ready to do graduate work in the toughest university. We must do more than we are now doing to help our students in four years to overcome the disabilities resulting from 342 years of slavery and segregation. It is a tough job, but this is our task in the predominantly Negro college.

**MOREHOUSE COLLEGE** has graduated 87 men who have received the Ph.D. degree in our greatest universities. Morehouse must increase the speed of Morehouse men able to receive the Ph.D. degree by 300 per cent in the next decade. If the Negro colleges are not aware of this challenge and opportunity, we are missing the boat.

How to do it? I have no blueprint, but each college must work out its own blueprint and do this job. We can work miracles in 10 years if we set our minds to doing it. If we do not do this job of rapidly upgrading our students so that a large number can compete, it will not be done. The best white schools are interested in the excellent Negro high school graduate and not in the very good Negro high school graduate. But many of the very good students whom Harvard will not take will do Harvard's Ph.D. if we do our job.

## My View
The Pittsburgh Courier
By Benjamin E. Mays

LAST WEEK, I wrote on the plight of the Negro Baptists.

I write about them again because potentially the Negro Baptist Convention, Inc., is one of the most powerful religious bodies in the United States. On the local level many of the Negro Baptist churches are truly outstanding.



Dr. Mays

The number of great preachers in the Negro Baptist Church does credit to the denomination.

But the thing that bothers me is the fact that our contribution beyond the local scene is not commensurate with our size.

**I KNOW** that we have no Bishop to see that certain things are done. I know that each Baptist church is autonomous. And yet I still believe that 4,000,000 Baptists would rally to a program of national and international scope once given a favorable climate in which to operate.

A constructive program will hardly emerge where there is division, strife, confusion, and the absence of clear cut objectives.

I am not in a position to map out a program for the National Baptist Convention, Inc. I may not even have the ability to do so. Therefore, I make no claim for myself. But one thing I do know. It is time for the Negro Baptist Convention, Inc., to stop feuding and get on with the job.

**SINCE MONEY** seems to be the axle grease by which all wheels turn, let us look at the financial potential of Baptists.

For the sake of computation let us assume that there are 4,000,000 Baptists in the National Baptist Convention, Inc. If money-wise, we could average one dollar per Baptist a year, we would raise $4,000,000 for education, foreign missions, retirement, social programs and civil rights.

I say average because it is hardly possible to get every Baptist to give one dollar for programs beyond his local church. If this is too ambitious, and we could average only fifty cents a year for each Baptist, we would raise $2,000,000.

**IF THIS** is too ambitious, let us average twenty-five cents a Baptist per year. At twenty-five cents a Baptist, we would raise $1,000,000 annually for good causes.

Even if we averaged ten cents a Baptist in the National Baptist Convention, Inc., the convention would raise from the churches $400,000.

Now I know that money isn't raised by getting 4,000,000 people to give a dollar.

No program operates that way, where 4,000,000 people are involved. My only point is to dramatize the potentials and to affirm again that we Negro Baptists do too little for education while we boast of four or five million people.

I also know that the Baptists of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Aalbama, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Texas do some things for the colleges in their states.

And yet, I am willing to wager that when we put it all together we would hardly raise annually a half-million dollars for education. To summarize, we Baptists do too little for education.

## My View
The Pittsburgh Courier
By Benjamin E. Mays

A FEW bright spots in the area of human relations may lead one to believe that we are traveling faster than we are.

A few dark spots may cause one to forget the progress that is being made. As much as needs to be done in Atlanta, it is a show place in the deep South.



Dr. Mays

These things have been done in Atlanta without incident: desegregation of the golf courses, public library, airport, city buses, railroad waiting room, and now since Aug. 30, 1961, the public schools have been desegregated. In all these cases, except the library, it required federal action.

Before this article is printed, the Downtown lunch counters may have been desegregated. Two Negroes are now serving as motormen on city buses. When I say without incident, I mean no rioting has occurred.

■

**SINCE 1954** public schools have been desegregated in 17 states and the District of Columbia. Some desegregation has occurred in the state universities of the South in every state except South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi.

These three states have no desegregation in the public schools. In addition to the above, some lunch counters have been desegregated in 135 Southern communities. These are bright signs.

To leave it this way would be misleading. In the vast majority of cases, the communities were coerced into desegregating their facilities. With the exception of places like the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, Oklahoma, and West Virginia, integration of the public schools has been token. This is largely true of the state universities.

When the statistics are scrutinized it is clear that desegregation has moved in most places with snail-like speed. Most school boards have seen to it that desegregation would be token. Even Atlanta saw to this—only Negro students were permitted to qualify for entrance to previously all white high schools.

■

**IN THE 17 STATES** and the District of Columbia that had segregated school systems prior to 1954 there are a total of 6,663 school districts.

At present, only 783 districts have desegregated, slightly less than 11 per cent. According to the June issue of Southern School News, 10,173,399 white students are enrolled and 3,088,261 Negro students are enrolled.

In desegregated districts, 3,106,130 white students are matriculated and 706,163 Negro students. In fact, only 213,532 Negroes out of a total of 3,106,130 enrolled in the region are in school with whites. In other words only 6.9 per cent of Negro students are attending school with white children in the South, leaving 93.1 per cent in segregated schools.

For example, in North Carolina only 82 Negroes, out of 307,800, are in schools with whites.

Desegregation moves slowly.

## My View
The Pittsburgh Courier
By Benjamin E. Mays

## Thurgood Marshall

I REGRET to see Thurgood Marshall leave the Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP. And yet, I am glad that he is a Federal judge. If any American deserves the right to be on the bench of the Circuit Court of Appeals, Thurgood Marshall deserves it. He has earned the right to be a Federal judge. I have wondered for some time why he had not been appointed. Frankly, I hope this is a step to the Supreme Court bench. He deserves to be one of the nine justices of the Supreme Court. If a vacancy occurs on the Supreme Court during the Kennedy Administration, I hope Thurgood Marshall will be elevated to that post. Negroes have become skilled in the law and there are several who qualify for a United States Supreme Court Judge. I wish to congratulate President Kenndy for recognizing a man for his ability despite race.



Dr. Mays

**THE ELEVATION** of Mr. Marshall to a high Federal post is significant indeed. Some may think it is significant because Thurgood Marshall is a Negro. Yes, that too — but far more significant still is the fact that Thurgood Marshall is no conservative. He is out front among the liberals of this country. Let those who think that they must be cautious and conservative in order to go places sit up and take notice.

Here is a man who has been on the firing line for many years batlting for civil rights. Certainly he has not been and is not now loved by reactionary Northerners and Southerners who argue that the Negro is pressing too hard and going too fast.

I am sure there are those who hate the man because it was he more than any other one man who is responsible for the May 17, 1954 Decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in the public schools. He has been the gadfly in the law. He has frequently been referred to as Mr. "Civil Rights."

**IT IS THIS MAN,** whose position on race is known to all, who has been assigned to the second highest post a lawyer can be appointed to. It is not true that a man who is upstanding cannot reach high places. I will admit that his appointment came when the right man was in the White House. A more conservative Chief Executive or an Executive steeped in race prejudice or an Executive who is timid and afraid would not have made the appointment. Fortunately a man of courage is in the White House.

A man who stands up for that which is obviously right and stands up for the rights inherent in the United States Constitution and does it in the right spirit will make his way. The unduly timid person is not likely to go far. Even if he does, he carries little respect with him.

Robert Weaver, the Chief Housing Administrator, was president of the NAACP. Thurgood Marshall was the chief counselor. Both have been appointed to high positions. Let the unduly cautious and timid sit up and take notice.

# My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

## We Sat, Ate and Talked

NOT LONG ago, I sat next to a gentleman at dinner. We talked about two things: the NAACP and Berlin. The first topic was raised by my friend who wanted to know from me if the NAACP was traveling too fast and pushing too hard.



Dr. Mays

This was a well informed man and held a prominent position in one of our great cities. He was convinced, nevertheless, that the NAACP was moving too fast and had stirred up considerable trouble.

As I talked with this gentleman, I came to the conclusion that he, like most people, want to believe that human nature is better than it is, and that you can talk and persuade people to do the right thing. We want to believe that everybody wants to do the right thing, but it **just isn't so.**

We want to believe that you can reason with people and persuade them to get rid of their prejudices. On the whole, this isn't true. In almost every case when social changes are made in history, the "power structure" has had to be coerced to give.

**I POINTED** out to my friend that it took the NAACP 10 years to get two Negroes enrolled in the University of Georgia. I asked him if that was too fast. I pointed out that it took several years to get nine Negroes in the public schools of Atlanta.

I pointed out again that in almost every case in the Deep South where the Negro got the ballot, it came through coercive court action. I tried to get him to see that desegregating the schools in the South was moving at such a slow pace that at the present rate since 1954, it will take 90 years more to completely desegregate the public schools in the South.

I do not think my friend was impressed.

**I THOUGHT** the conversation should be shifted a bit. We talked about Berlin. We both expressed the hope that there should be no war over Berlin. But he was more willing than I am to go to war and fight it out with Russia. I got the impression from him that war was probably inevitable and we might as well get it over with.

On the other hand, I expressed the hope that negotiations would continue on and on, and that everything possible must be done to avoid war. We talked about the horrors of nuclear war.

He thinks that all this talk about civilization being destroyed is nonsense, and that there will be plenty of people left to carry on after the horrors of a nuclear war.

**HE SAID THAT** if 100 million people were killed, that would only be a fraction of the total world population. And yet, I tried to explain that a million people is a million people. I suppose it all depends upon whose million it is. Our discussion was revealing. As I departed I wondered how many people think as this fine man does.

# My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

## Property or Human Beings—Which?

I NOTE that Senator Richard Russell of Georgia is prosing a neutron bomb which I understand, if and when it is developed, would be able to destroy human beings without destroying property. This raises an interesting question.



Dr. Mays

If we should move forward to the point where we have gas and biological warfare and neutron bombs, we can destroy mankind and leave our buildings intact. What good will the buildings be without the people? I suppose the implication here is that more people will be spared in an all-out nuclear war than we now suppose.

Many people may be thinking as the gentleman about whom I wrote last week. He sees nothing particularly wrong with the war destroying one hundred million or two hundred million people because there will be left others to carry on. The population is a problem in some parts of the world, so one way of relieving the situation is to destroy some of these people through war. It is an old argument though very inhuman.

**IT IS** pretty clear that the teachings of Christianity and other religions on the value of the human being have never penetrated the minds and thinking of people. It certainly has not made any impression upon heads of state because in the last 3,000 years we have fought more than 3,000 wars. In fact, we kill human beings just as we kill rabbits, hogs and other animals. The only difference is that we kill animals, we think, for survival purposes, but we kill human beings because of our greed, lust and thirst for power and position. We fight war to maintain a certain way of life or to secure economic, political and social advantages over others. In a war, a man's life is as cheap as that of a rabbit.

■

**NO ONE** sees the end of this struggle between East and West and no one is quite wise enough to know what is the right course to take. But, it seems to me that no one could argue against the necessity of utilizing every possible means to negotiate, to talk, to discuss, to hold conferences and see if the world may not be spared a third world war. The Kennedy Administration is aware of all this.

Our support of the United Nations will continue despite those extreme rightists who would have us withdraw and leave the field to Russia to dominate the United Nations. Without in any way appearing weak or soft, the Kennedy Administration is open for talks at any level and for negotiations at any time which may improve the relationship between the East and West.

Although we have preached for 2,000 years that man is a child of God, born in His image, it has made virtually no difference at all. Nations have not considered this in their international dealings.

## My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Courier

## At Long Last!

IN 1950, approximately ten years ago, Horace Ward who had earned an AB degree at Morehouse and an AM degree from Atlanta University, was denied admission to the University of Georgia. The University argued at the time, that Ward was not qualified to enter the law school of the University of Georgia and that he had not exhausted administrative remedies. Ward enrolled in the law school at Northwestern University and graduated. Ironically, he passed the Georgia bar and is now practicing in this state. This is the man that the University of Georgia would not admit. The Ward case dragged on for five years.



Dr. Mays

**A LITTLE** more than a year ago, two more Negroes sued to enter the undergraduate school of the University of Georgia—Miss Charlayne Hunter, a graduate of Turner High School here in Atlanta, and Hamilton Holmes, a graduate of Turner High School also in Atlanta. Holmes was a sophomore at Morehouse College and Miss Hunter was a sophomore at Wayne University in Detroit.

On Jan. 6, Judge Bootle of the District Federal Court, ruled that the University of Georgia must take Miss Hunter and Hamilton Holmes at the beginning of the second quarter, or during the spring, summer or fall quarter, if the two students decided to postpone entering the university.

It has taken ten years for us to break down the bar of segregation in the tax supported institutions of Georgia. What is more ironical is that Horace Ward assisted Mrs. Constance Motley, NAACP laywer of New York, and Donald L. Hollowell, NAACP lawyer of Atlanta, in the Hunter-Holmes case. Ward was not good enough to enter the law school of the University of Georgia, and yet, he was good enough to finish law at Northwestern University; good enough to pass the Georgia bar, and good enough to help win the case in the Federal Court which now forces the University of Georgia to accept Miss Hunter and Hamilton Holmes.

**THE STATE** of Georgia faces a dilemma now. According to the law of Georgia, the Governor has the power to close any school in the state that integrates, by withholding funds from the entire school or from a division of the college or university. Thus. Governor Vandiver has the power to withhold funds from all branches of the University of Georgia or the College of Liberal Arts.

I am sure that the Governor would not attempt to close the College of Liberal Arts of the University of Georgia. As much as the mapority of the white people of Georgia want and love and worship segregation, they will not stand for the University to be closed. The Attorney General appealed the case in vain.

I don't believe in the inherent goodness of human nature. If I did, I couldn't after hearing leading Georgia educators swear on the Bible that there is no racial discrimination in the university system.

## My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

## What Does Governor Faubus Think Now?

GOVERNOR Faubus was the number one Southern Governor about four years ago. He was a hero among the segregationists in the South. He defied the Federal Government and got away with it. He deliberately sent state troops, not to protect the Negro children in their right to enter Central High School, but to keep them from entering. Justice required that Faubus be jailed. In the sense that he defied a Federal court order and was not jailed Faubus got away with it. In the sense that Central High School was integrated he did not get away with it. He did win political victories in Arkansas but he lost the chairmanship of the Southern Governors' Conference which he would have had if he had not defied Federal orders. He does not count nationally among Democrats.



Dr. Mays

**IT IS THE** belief of many that Faubus was spearheading defiance of Federal law with the advice and encouragement of other deep South governors and politicians. He was not acting alone. It is alleged that he was aided and abetted in this by Georgia politicians. Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia, the Attorney General of Georgia and Roy Harris are accused of assisting and urging Faubus to do what he did. The Georgia politicians, as far as I know, never did repudiate the charge. It was rumored at the time that Governor Griffin said that he was glad if he had a hand in the Arkansas rebellion.

If this is so, I wonder what Faubus thinks now. It is true that Griffin is not Governor of Georgia now, but it is strange and paradoxical that Georgia up to now has not followed Faubus' lead in defying a Federal court order. Negroes are not yet enrolled in the public schools of Georgia but they are in the University of Georgia and the legislature of Georgia has enacted legislation abolishing references to segregated schools in Georgia. It seems clear that Georgia will not try to defyFederal law. In fact, Governor Vandiver has made two things clear. Georgia schools will not be closed and Federal orders will not be flaunted. The very thing that Griffin of Georgia urged Faubus to do, Georgia, apparently, is not going to do.

**MAYBE IT IS ALL** delaying tactics and political grandstand play. Southern politicians—all too many of them—have led the people to believe that the South doesn't have to obey Federal orders. Any average mind should know better.

It should be clear by now, even to Faubus, that we cannot have a Federal Government if its laws are not supreme. If each state were supreme, we would have fifty countries and not one. Maybe Jimmie Davis of Louisiana and Faubus of Arkansas will eventually learn as the Governor of Virginia did. But we must not be deceived. The deep South intends to have token integration for a long time. The battle has not yet been completely won.

## My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Pittsburgh Courier

## Salute to Robert Weaver

**I AM ASSUMING that by the time this article is printed, Dr. Robert Weaver will have been confirmed as Federal Housing administrator. I think this will obtain despite the hearings that are going on now in an attempt on the part of** some of the Southern people to block his confirmation. I am quite sure that they will not succeed in doing this. President Kennedy belives in Mr. Weaver, and all of the people who know him believe in him and know that he is by no means a Communist.



Dr. Mays

There are those who would like to stigmatize Dr. Weaver because they hate to see a Negro occupy a position comparable to that of a cabinet post. It is virtually impossible for any Negro who has been in the thick of the fight for equal opportunities for Negroes not to be on the same list which has been accused of being Communist-front organizations.

**THE FALLACY** in these lists lies in the fact that when people are accused of having connections with such organizations, it was way before the Committee on Un-American Activities had branded the organization as being a Communist-front organization. If a person had connections with an organization in 1940 or 1945, which at that time had good standing in the nation, and was not connected with it when the organization was branded as a Communist-front organization, it is highly unfair to bring charges against this person as being pro-Communist. In many cases, persons who have had some connection with so-called Communist-front organizations resigned from their association with that organization when they had reason to suspect that organization.

On the other hand, there are organizations such as the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America which has been branded, and which by anybody's appraisal was one of the top religious organizations in America. The Federal Council, before it was merged into the National Council, had in its membership the leading Protestant denominational leaders in America.

**IT WOULD** not have been possible for Dr. Weaver to have been one of the top housing administrators in New York, officer of the John Hay Whitney Foundation and consultant to the Ford Foundation, if he had not been a top man in every particular.

Few men in government are better prepared, or as well prepared, for their task as Dr. Weaver. A Harvard Ph.D. speaks for itself and says that here is a man who meets the highest possible academic requirement. He has also had splendid training and experience in the previous Democratic administrations. I think we all can be proud that President Kennedy had the good judgement to employ a man of Mr. Weaver's stature. He is a man of integrity and will be eminently fair to all concerned.

## My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Courier

## Adult Responsibility

ALL OVER the South Negro students have been working hard to break down segregation. They are definitely speeding up the process of desegregation. But one thing I am sure our students do not understand and that is they are not fighting against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers and wickedness in high places. When they win the lunch counter battle, they will need to move on to something else and from that something else, and so on. Throughout the whole of their life-time, they will be fighting—if not segregation, they will be fighting against discrimination on the basis of race and color. This



Dr. Mays

is not a short war, this is a long war.

I am writing this article, however, to point out that older people should not drag their feet in this fight. If students can go to jail for the cause, certainly other people should not only be willing to support the students by contributing heavily to the cause, but they should help by not spending their money in places discriminating against Negroes on the basis of race and color. The buying power of Negroes is tremendous in almost any community. But when you reach a metropolitan city such as Atlanta, Birmingham, Memphis and many other cities in the South, the buying power of the Negro runs into many, many millions.

■

**I DO NOT** see how any adult with pride in his soul and who wants to see a non-segregated America, can patronize an establishment which cannot do the decent thing by opening its doors without segregation to all people who buy and spend. It is being rumored that some Negroes take the position that they have a right to spend their money wherever they please. Maybe they do. But there are some things you do not do in a war—whether it is a cold war or a hot war.

It might be a good thing if some of us spent less on clothes anyway. Most of us do not have to buy new clothes at Easter time. I suspect the more economically secure among us could go for a year or more without buying any more shoes, dresses, hats and suits. My guess is that we would look just as well as we do now.

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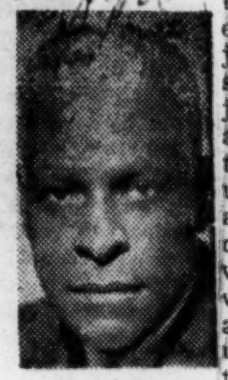
**WE CANNOT** win the battle whether students stay in jail without bail or whether they are bailed out unless the adult community is so organized that it will support the students' efforts by not spending their money where we are discriminated against on account of race.

Some of us have been sticking our necks out a long time trying to get segregation and discrimination abolished. It seems that there is something every adult can do to support the student movement—morally, financially, going to jail if necessary, and certainly by supporting those establishments that are more decent in their treatment of Negroes and other colored people.

# My View
## By Benjamin E. Mays

## Jail Without Bail

**APPROXIMATELY 80 students are in jail in Atlanta as the result of "sit-in" demonstrations. They refused to accept bail. Students who go to jail without bail should be convinced that this is the best and most effective way for them to witness against segregation and discrimination.** For about a year, now, the students in the Atlanta University Center have gone to jail and last year practically all of them accepted bail. They have also participated in picketing. There has been little let-up since March of 1960.



Dr. Mays

The students have done a marvelous job and there is nothing to be said for their activities but praise and congratulations. It is hoped that the jail without bail movement will arouse the community to action to solve the segregation problem; or that it will arouse the community to action to solve the segregation problem; or that it will motivate the Federal government to hear "sit-in" cases to determine when private property is private. The Georgia Legislature will hardly repeal its anti-trespass law. The merchants will hardly violate the state law by opening up their eating facilities as variety stores have done in some 112 Southern communities. The problem of the "sit-ins" will have to be solved in Federal court just as the Montgomery boycott had finally to be settled in Federal court. And yet, Atlanta can solve it without court action.

■

**IT IS MY BELIEF** that the Supreme Court will hand down a decision prohibiting a man in private business, with license to serve the public, from discriminating against anyone solely on the basis of color and race. I do not see how a man in private business can exclude a segment of the public on the basis of race and then expect the state to assist him in enforcing his prejudice. A restaurant owner may exclude Negroes, but I do not believe he can call upon the law to assist him in the exclusion. It is our responsibility, and particularly those who know the law, to do what can be done to get an early hearing on these cases by the Supreme Court.

**JAIL WITHOUT BAIL** poses a real problem for an administrator. As for this administrator, I cannot insist, urge, or encourage a student to go to jail without bail unless I, myself, am willing to lead him to jail and stay without bail. If an adult leader is not willing to do that, he has no right to urge his students to do it. We adults must not use these students and urge them to do what we ourselves are not willing to do. As president of a college, I have no right to urge 800 sons of other people to go to jail without bail. It must be an individual decision and the one who makes it must be willing to pay whatever price is involved. In this case the community cannot fail the students. The community must rise to help achieve the objectives sought.

# My View
## By Benjamin E. Mays

## Integration in Colleges Moves Slowly

I MAY BE in error, but for some time to come the Negro enrollments in the white colleges of the South will be relatively small. For whatever the reason, token integration will be the practice for a long time. Although the enrollment in Negro colleges is increasing, the speed of desegregation in the white colleges of the South has been mighty slow. The following examples will illustrate the point:



Dr. Mays

Berea College opened its doors to Negroes for the second time in 1950. Thirty Negroes are enrolled in Berea during the second semester of the present academic year. Goucher College opened its doors to Negroes in 1955. There are only two Negroes enrolled in the undergraduate college the second semester of this academic year. St. John's College in Maryland began to admit Negroes as undergraduates in 1948. Only one is enrolled for the second semester of the present academic year. And yet, Morgan State College, a predominantly Negro institution, is crowded despite the fact that the University of Maryland has been admitting Negroes in the undergraduate college since 1954. The University of Maryland does not keep racial records so it is not known how many Negroes are enrolled there.

■

**THE UNIVERSITY** of North Carolina began to enroll Negroes as undergraduates in 1955. Only six are registered this semester in the undergraduate division of the University of North Carolina. The Negro colleges of North Carolina such as A. and T., North Carolina College, Bennett, Johnson C. Smith and Livingston have as many students as they can properly handle. The University of Virginia accepted Negro students as undergraduates in the academic year 1950-'51. There are only six Negro undergraduates in the University of Virginia this present semester. And yet, Hampton Institute, Virginia State, Virginia Union and St. Paul's are not suffering for the lack of students. Even when one considers the fact that there are a goodly number of Negroes enrolled in universities such as Texas, Arkansas, Maryland, and Catholic University in Washington, where no record of race is kept, the predominantly Negro institutions are full.

■

**DESEGREGATION** will probably move slowly in Negro colleges as well. A recent study of white enrollments in 43 Negro colleges in the last 12 years reveals that 27 white students were enrolled in several of these institutions between 1948-'49 and 1954. Since 1954, 294 white students have enrolled in some 20 Negro colleges. Between 1948 and 1954 six Negro schools reported that seven white students had been graduated. In the six academic years since 1954, eight schools reported 60 white students had been graduated.

## My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.
Sat. 7-1-61

### Economic Status of Negroes in the United States

A report from the United States Department of Labor shows that the economic status of Negroes is improving. The gap of inequality is still very wide, but it is closing. In 1939 for all persons with wage or salary income, the median of the white male was $1,112; for the Negro the median in 1939 was $460. The median for the white female in 1939 was $676; for the Negro female it was $246. There had been improvement by 1958 when the median wage and salary income for the white male had risen to $4,569 and for the Negro male to $2,652. By 1958 the median wage and salary income for the white female was $2,364; that of the Negro female was $1,055. For year-round full-time workers, the median for white male in 1939 was $1,419; for Negro males $639. Nineteen years later in 1958 the median wage and salary income for the white male had risen to $5,186 and for Negro males to $3,368.



Dr. Mays

■

**IN OTHER WORDS** in 1939 for all persons with wage or salary income, the Negro male received 41.4 per cent as much as the white male; in 1958 the Negro male received 58 per cent as much. The Negro female received only 36.4 per cent as much as the white female in 1939; in 1958 the Negro female received 44.6 per cent as much. For year-round full-time employment the Negro male worker received in 1939 over 45 per cent as much as the white male but in 1958 the Negro male received 64.9 as much as the white male worker.

Encouraging but still a dismal picture. There is a vast difference between $5,186 a year and $3,368 a year—a difference of $1,818. Of course this is explained in part by the fact that percentage-wise Negro unskilled laborers are almost four times greater than white unskilled laborers. The gap is also due to the fact that in 1959 the median years of school completed by persons 25 years old and over is much less among Negroes. The medium for whites in March 1959 was 11.1 years of schooling completed; the medium years of school completed by Negroes 25 years and over was 7.6 in March 1959. Add to this the fact of segregation, and discrimination, it is not surprising that economically the Negro is way behind.

■

**EDUCATIONALLY** this means that fewer Negroes will go to college and the cultural level will be lower. Negroes will have fewer books and magazines in their homes. It means that colleges must somehow find scholarships so that no worthy boy or girl who is academically able will be denied the opportunity of a college education. Every elementary school teacher ought to be on the alert to spot the promising boy or girl and before he or she finishes high school the student should be in contact with some college that will give aid. No talent should be lost if the boy or girl has ability.

## My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

The Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY has issued a new executive order banning racial bias in Federal contracts and Government employment.

This executive order establishes a commission on equal opportunity in employment, combining the committees on Federal contracts and Government employment.

The Vice President is the chairman of the new commission and the Secretary of Labor is the vice chairman.



Dr. Mays

Among other members are the Attorney General, and the Secretaries of Defense, Army, Navy and Air.

Perhaps the President will need a committee of ordinary citizens to support the Government officials named to the commission. This new commission will have power to cancel contracts and also to punish people who violate the order.

■

**IT MAY BE** recalled that in a previous article in The Courier, I expressed the hope that the Government would do something like this through an executive order.

If the commission is designed to do what I think it is set up to do, it will have far-reaching consequences.

Government agencies throughout the United States will be desegregated just as they are desegregated in the nation's capital.

To be specific, it means that the 35 or 40 Government agencies in Atlanta serving the Southeastern part of the United States will not be lily-white in employment as practically all of them are now except the post office.

■

**YOU WILL** find Negroes employed in white collar jobs in addition to being maids and janitors. This will be the most significant thing in the area of civil rights that any President of the United States has ever undertaken.

President Kennedy is certainly getting off to an excellent start. He is a man of courage and he is not afraid to exercise the authority inherent in the executive branch of our Government.

■

**ON THE OTHER** hand, this executive order presents a challenge to Negroes.

The vast majority of these jobs are civil service jobs. Negroes must take the Civil Service examination and qualify before they can be employed even after racial restrictions have been removed. Now is the time to get it over to high school and college graduates that a new day is adawning in Federal employment, particularly in the South.

Here again it will be most unfortunate if all Government agencies in the South remove the color bar and we are unable to find Negroes qualified to step in and fill these jobs.

**THE NEWSPAPERS** will not be enough as a source of information to Negroes. High school principals, college deans and presidents must explain to their students what this means and must urge and encourage them to take Civil Service examinations and qualify for these positions.

## My View
By Benjamin E. Mays

3/a
The Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.

WHAT PEOPLE predict about the future is more often wrong than right.

For the most part, man is not wise enough to predict the future in the area of social change and evolution. In 1865 American leadership was baffled as to what to do with four million newly emancipated people.



Dr. Mays

Even Abraham Lincoln was baffled at one time for he entertained the idea of sending the Negroes back to Africa. Others wanted to colonize the Negro by giving him a separate state.

The program finally agreed upon by law and custom was, to segregate the Negro. This program is now crumbling.

Sat. 4-1-61

**THERE WERE** those who thought that America could get rid of the Negro by leaving him alone. Not being able to compete, the newly emancipated race would soon die out.

This was 95 years ago. Now the 1960 Census reveals that there are 18,871,381 Negroes in the United States. These are the people that some hoped would die out.

There has been an increase in the Negro population of more than 350 per cent in 95 years.

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**IT IS ALSO** significant to note that the rate of increase for the Negro between 1950 and 1960 was slightly higher than the rate of white persons.

In 1950 Negroes were 10 per cent of the population. In 1960 the Negroes are 10.5 per cent of the population.

Four states suffered a loss in Negro population: Arkansas, Mississippi, West Virginia and Wyoming. All the rest showed an increase.

■

**NEGROES** are still going North. They are leaving the 11 states of the Confederacy. In 1910, 81 per cent of the Negroes lived in these 11 states.

The states that made up the Confederacy are Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

In 1930, 71 per sent of the Negro population was in the Confederate states. In 1950 this percentage had fallen to 60 per cent. In 1960, only 52 per cent of the Negro population lived in the 11 states lisfed above.

■

**NEW YORK** has the largest Negro population with 1,417,511. This is an increase of close to a half million since 1950.

Five other states have more than a million Negroes: Texas, Georgia, North Carolina, Louisiana and Illinois. In the ten years the gains were significantly high in Ohio, New York, California, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Texas, Louisiana, Maryland and the District of Columbia. The largest increases were in Northern centers.

This has political importance. The Negro vote will become more and more a decisive factor wherever the election is close. Even in the South the Negro vote will become decisive when more Negroes vote.

This is an analysis of advanced figures released by the Associated Press.

# My View

By Benjamin E. Mays

THE KENNEDY Administration will be extending the services of the United States to African, Asian, and Latin American countries with the Peace Corps.

This is evidently only one of of the many programs that the Kennedy administration will be launching in several parts of the world.



Dr. Mays

I am particularly concerned about Negro participation in all of the programs and particularly in the Peace Corps. It is my hope that many seniors in the 1961 graduating classes will make application to serve in the Peace Corps mission.

The number will probably be small for the fall of 1961 because the program is just being launched. On the other hand, it would be a sad picture if thousands of representatives of the so-called white race were serving in the Peace Corps and a negligible number of Negroes.

**THE REPRESENTATIVES** must be thoroughly integrated and that will speak volumes for our racial policies in the United S ates.

An integrated group will say to the people of Asia and Africa that great improvement is being made in interracial relations in the United States.

This is very important because the Asians and Africans are sensitive on the race question.

On both of my trips to India, the racial situation in the United States has been the paramount topic of my discussion with the Indian press and in my speaking to educational and YMCA groups. On my brief trip to Africa in early 1960, the Africans were equally interested in this perplexing problem.

■

**INDIRECTLY, IT** will offset Communist propaganda as they try to play up the racial situation in America without ever taking account of the progress that is being made, though all too slow.

There is another advantage which cannot be taken lightly. Participating in the Peace Corps will give the Negro students a world view. We have spent so much time fighting segregation and discrimination in this country that our horizon has been circumscribed to the local and national scene and we have not centered on the total world situation.

Berlin, Laos, the Congo, or any other spot in the world may touch off a third world war at any moment.

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**THE WORLD** view must be one of the main emphasis in our colleges and universities and participation in the Peace Corps will go a long way toward broadening the horizons of our students.

Then, too, two or three years is a very short time for one to give in the service of his country. A young man graduating from college at the age of 21 or 22 will be able to serve for two or three years in Africa, Asia, or Latin America and be back on the home front at 24 or 25.

Two or three years spent in this way will mean more to young people in the years to come than almost anything else they could do.

# Abundant life takes choosing, Dr. Mays tells Bennett group

GREENSBORO, N.C. — It is one thing to live and another to live abundantly, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., said in his Palm Sunday message at Bennett College Sunday.

"There are people," declared Dr. Mays, "who spent large sums on entertaining their friends, but who will not contribute a cent to a worthy charity. Maybe they believe that with their material wealth, they are living abundantly. The alcoholic and the dope addict may also be trying to find the abundant life. But God requires that we live constructive lives."

DR. MAYS stated that Jesus, who came to give man the abundant life, lived abundantly, although He was below middle class, never owned a home, had no college degree and never wrote a book.

"If you wish to live abundantly," Dr. Mays continued, "you must live a productive life that is beneficial to you and to mankind. In addition, you must live a life that gives and finally, you must live an ascetic life in the sense that it is the disciplined life — a life which renounces position, prestige and power for service to mankind."

# Mays Praises 'Racial' Leadership Of Kennedy

CLEVELAND, Ohio (UPI)—A leading Negro educator Thursday praised President Kennedy for his leadership in racial relations matters.

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta and president of the United Negro College Fund, said if Eisenhower had acted similarly to the present administration "much of the friction we have had would not have occurred."

He said the opening of new job opportunities for Negroes in the South has been "all too slow," but predicted the Kennedy administration's order for racial equality in governmental hiring would be a spurring influence.

"We would wish that the South would act from more humanitarian motives," he said, "but if coercion will force a change, Negroes will settle for that and take their chances on proving their worth."

Mays, speaking here at a lenten series in Old Stone Church, said the admittance of two Negroes to the University of Georgia has tended to break the logjam of diehard resistance to integrated schooling.

"With segregationist Georgia headed in the right direction, what can South Carolina do, what can Mississippi do, what can Alabama do now?" asked the South Carolina native.

"They don't have a leg to stand on. They could pass off integration in Virginia and Arkansas as something that happened in the border South, but they can't pass off what is happening in Deep South Georgia," he stated.

"Some of the sober, sane white people in Atlanta and Georgia have been working a long time to see that we wouldn't have another Little Rock or New Orleans on our hands," he said of the coming integration this fall of Atlanta schools.

He especially credited Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, for that.

31a 1961

NEGRO (CLARENCE MITCHELL)

# From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

## Lauds Holland Appointment

The notation that George L. Holland is top man in the veterans' benefits office in the District of Columbia marks the beginning of the kind of federal action that will really make a sizable hole in the wall of racial discrimination that surrounds civil service employment. It is to field government offices what the appointment of Dr. Robert C. Weaver is to national government.

Perhaps the best description of how colored people fit into Uncle Sam's payroll structure was given by the charwoman who was asked whether she thought there was any racial discrimination in government employment. She said, "I've been working for twenty - five years and I see a lot of colored people at the bottom, I see a few at the top but I don't see any in between."

The few at the top were formerly in advisory capacities for the most part until the Eisenhower administration broke the barrier by naming J. Ernest Wilkins assistant secretary of labor. The Weaver appointment to Housing in the Kennedy administration is a real illustration of new frontiersmanship. Never before has a colored citizen had this kind of opportunity to formulate and execute national policy in a significant area of government.

* * *

**UNFORTUNATELY,** the top posts in government do not provide careers for able and effective men. As administrations change the men change. Sometimes they are asked to serve under a new president and often they are called upon to be consultants, but appointments of colored people at this level by one chief executive is no assurance that the precedent will be followed by a successor.

In the vast middle area of federal employment between the minor clerks and custodians and the top executives there are career jobs of great importance. Holders of the career jobs often begin as messengers or petty job holders. Some are recruited from private industry, universities or state governments. Almost without exception they are white and a large proportion of them are from the South. One of Mr. Holland's predecessors was an Alabama resident.

Often during the tedious hours of negotiation and argument about a discriminatory practice in a federal agency one is acutely aware of the fact that the man at the top may be new, but he is getting his advice from old hands who have been around many years. They know how to defend the policies because they have helped to make them.

* * *

**THE HOLLAND APPOINTMENT** gives assurance that in one major office of the Veterans' Administration there will no longer be any racial or religious discrimination in employment. If President Kennedy would like to show foreign or domestic visitors the merit system in a goldfish bowl he can use Mr. Holland's personal employment practices for this purpose.

This kind of appointment also provides a vital link between idealistic policies that are formulated in Washington and the field offices where those policies are to be put into effect. For example, the VA has a clearly established housing policy which makes it possible for a colored veteran to buy a home in any neighborhood if the original white veteran who purchased it is in default. This policy is usually ignored or surrounded with so much red tape locally that it does not work.

For some reason colored veterans do not seem to get information from many local offices about benefits to which they are entitled as a matter of law. Years ago when Mr. Holland was a staff member in District of Columbia VA office he set a record for making sure that people of all races got what was coming to them. It is certain that this will be his policy now that he is in charge.

The new appointee is the kind of public servant who takes the trouble to be thoroughly familiar with his job and what he is supposed to do to make certain that the taxpayers get their money's worth.

# From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

## More Rights Workers Needed

In a recent conversation between a representative of a national civil rights organization and a gentleman identified with what is now called "inter-group relations" the suggestion was made that there should be a joint program on a minor project. The idea was one that could easily be carried out by one organization. It did not require a great many meetings and discussions.

Although the representative of the national organization outlined how easily the job could be accomplished, the inter-group man saw it as something which required meetings to discuss strategy, sessions to plan pronouncements and a host of other time consuming acts which would not in themselves improve the chance for success.

This illustrates a phenomenon connected with the rapid spread of civil rights actions all around the country and the tendency to set up organizations to "Coordinate" things that are being handled very well by enthusiastic but non - coordinated groups or persons.

* * *

**OF COURSE SOME** coordination is necessary if we are to avoid duplication of effort, waste of resources and needless sacrifice that cripples operations. However, most of those who talk about coordination are really trying to get a foothold from which they can dictate policy. We must not permit this to happen.

The first important step of prevention is for all organizations and public figures to stop trying to interpret what others are doing. Let each speak for himself or itself. To do otherwise usually promotes a cumulative kind of friction that is an irresistibe lure for coordinators.

A second thing that must be kept in mind is that the workers in the civil rights vineyard are more numerous than they were ten or twenty years ago, but they still do not represent a number that is adequate. We need all who are now working intelligently, vigorously and constructively plus about five times more.

* * *

**A THIRD SAFETY DEVICE** now needed is a playing down of the tendency to promote everyone to the rank of general as soon as he wins one civil rights b[illegible] for freedom will not be won in a single encounter. Each [illegible] bute to the final end which is sought by all, but it often happens that a brilliant captain who can lead a field operation would be lost if called upon to make plans for keeping supply lines open or making certain that the retreating opponent does not eliminate half of the victor's men as dead, wounded or captives.

A fourth item that deserves attention is the certain knowledge that he who controls the purse strings can also control policy. This means, in the field of civil rights, that the best way to have a strong and uncompromising program is to be willing to pay for it. It also means that anyone who wants to make a large contribution should make it without strings and without hidden conditions.

Finally, it is always a good idea to avoid the pointless and boring type of meeting where there is no agenda and no intention among the parties to reach a workable conclusion. It often happens that while such meetings are being held, the practical people have solved the problem on the outside and are ready to move on to something else.

## Opening In Mississippi

The Justice Department has seized an opening against Mississippi bus and railroad segregation, until now sturdily defended under state law. The opening was provided more than a month ago when the Interstate Commerce Commission ruled against racial discrimination in interstate transportation and waiting rooms. These rules have just gone into effect. and with them has come a Justice Department suit in Oxford to block enforcement of conflicting state laws and to have the latter declared unconstitutional.

Until now the principal antagonists to Mississippi practice have been the Freedom Riders, who have become entangled in a web of state law. Accused of peace disturbance in state courts, the riders have been unable in any substantial way to challenge segregation law. Moreoever, the Attorney General of Mississippi has ruled that the riders cannot withdraw appeals, which may mean that some of them will be tried and convicted a second time and face added sentences. The sponsoring Congress of Racial Equality is hard put to finance all these cases which hold so little legal promise.

Perhaps the Justice Department suit will have no direct bearing on the immediate problem of the Freedom Riders. But if the department's suit succeeds, and federal law and regulation overcome Mississippi segregation, bus and railroad passengers ought to be able to ride in freedom in the future.

—ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

## 'What Emergency?'

It is difficult to see how the racial "study" being made by Dr. W. C. George of North Carolina for the State of Alabama could be classified as an emergency, particularly in Alabama.

Dr. George, an acknowledged extremist on the race question and a retired member of the University of North Carolina School of Medicine faculty, has been paid $3,000 for such a chore from Alabama Governor Patterson's emergency fund.

According to the Associated Press, Dr. George was paid the sizable sum of money to make a "detail study of anthropological differences between the races."

The tragic truth about this matter is that there always seems to be an urgent need in Alabama and some other Southern states for the commodity North Carolina's Dr. George is now selling to Alabama.

—RALEIGH NEWS AND OBSERVER

# From The Work Bench

By Clarence Mitchell

## Strange World

JACKSON, Miss. — When the visitor's plane is a speck in the sky bound for civilization again, Medgar Evers, field secretary of the NAACP in this state, returns to his strange world. In that world policemen would rather club colored heads than hit golf balls. Dogs are trained to bite colored preachers instead of crooks.

Thinking of Mr. Evers and his fine family makes the blood pressure rise when some highly placed public official or some demagogue trying to please a crowd makes the charge that colored people of the South are not showing enough interest in civil rights.

Mr. Evers is a walking illustration of what happens when one attempts to live a normal life in Dixie. About a year ago he rode a bus from Georgia to Mississippi. He sat up front. At Meridian, Miss., the local police threatened to put him in jail. When he ignored the threats a hoodlum taxi driver boarded the bus and assaulted Mr. Evers. The taxi driver "got away" and cannot be located by police.

**WHEN A LOCAL** judge handed out a fantastic sentence to a civil rights advocate who was arrested under what appeared to be trumped - up charges, Mr. Evers expressed his indignation in a public statement. The judge promptly sentenced him to jail for contempt and that case is now on its way to the Mississippi Supreme Court.

Students of Tougaloo College visited the public library in Jackson on March 27 and this simple act provoked a series of events that underline the unbelievable problems in Mississippi. Most American cities are working hard to get young people to use public libraries. In Jackson the students were jailed for "disturbing the peace."

The judge, who later convicted them, said he realized that the evidence showed that the students were quiet, but he said their presence created the possibility of trouble.

**MR. EVERS WAS** one of the early arrivals at the trial, but the colored section of the courtroom was filled and police would not let him sit in the white section. He joined the throng standing on the sidewalk across the street from the courthouse.

When the students appeared Mr. Evers and many other spectators joined in giving them hearty applause. Mississippi police regard this as a breach of the peace also and they rushed into the crowd with clubs swinging.

Mr. Evers was one of the first and most sought after targets of the policemen. He was clubbed and only by some miracle escaped being torn to shreds by a pair of vicious dogs that police turned on the crowd.

* *

**IN SPITE** of the rough treatment and nerve - wracking experience with the dogs, Mr. Evers planned and held a mass meeting of protest. On the night of the meeting the street in front of the building was densely populated with policemen, weather reports bristled with tornado warnings and the rain was falling in what seemed to be gallon - sized drops. Nevertheless, the meeting went off on schedule and was heavily attended.

At no time in my many conversations with him and Mrs. Evers have I found him discouraged. He is a reminder that the South has many potential leaders who possess great courage. If the rest of the country and the government backs them up they will clean up Dixie and make it presentable in the eyes of the world.

## The Hounds Of Hate

The use of savage police dogs against Negroes staging a sit-in in a white library in Jackson, Mississippi, and their supporters around the building may have effectually dispersed the crowd. It is almost incredible, however, that anybody even in Mississippi could have so carefully chosen a symbol calculated to injure Mississippi in the minds of men everywhere.

There may or may not be in the library around which this use of fierce dogs against men occurred a copy of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." There is no more fixed image in the minds of the world, however, than that of the bloodhounds set after American Negroes as described in that story which has been translated into every language and tongue on earth.

Of course, the story is old and out of date. The police procedure in Jackson is a rare, shocking incident. The image of brutality, however, remains. And for Mississippi to revise and revitalize the ugly image is to set loose the baying pack of world indignation as hardly any other thing could have done.

Some Southerners have declared that the South needs press agents to free the true picture of the South from exterior distortions. Certainly such acts as this suggest that the South certainly needs fewer of those who seem to seek and find just the images and symbols most calculated to make the South seem backward, brutal and blind.

RALEIGH NEWS AND OBSERVER




"Malice in Wonderland"
(Reprinted)

31a 1961

## Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

# J. Riley Dungee

WHEN THE YEARS pile up on you, one often wonders why experiences many years past return to you so clearly, while those only a week or two old are forgotten.

I have to go back over 50 years to renew acquaintance with J. Riley Dungee, but this is done without difficulty. I see him clearly. I remember him well.



Mr. Prattis

I met "Professor" Dungee at Christiansburg Industrial Institute, Cambria, Va., when I was 13 years old. At that time, I can recall, I knew nothing about the English language. Or should I say, about English grammar? I recall entering a class and being asked: "What is a sentence?" I did not know.

Nor did I know what a phrase was. But I was to come under the spell of this frail mulatto, J. Riley Dungee, a poet who taught us grammar in order to make a living.

**BY NOW**, "Professor" Dungee will have been long gone, but not from me. And I recall him now because he had significance—then and now. To his students in that far-off time, Mr. Dungee knew all there was to know about English grammar.

Why were we so sure? We had no books on English grammar and, even if we had them, Mr. Dungee would have ignored them. He taught from his own book, a thick manuscript, never published.

We thought a teacher must be great if he did not have to go to the white man's book. Not once in four years did Mr. Dungee use anybody else's book. He would lay his hand on his manuscript and tell us: "This is my book."

I am sure that the J. Riley Dungee book on English grammar was never published, but my study under him did two things for me: 1) It gave me the assurance then that one of my own people could be the master of the subject he taught, and 2) it gave me an understanding of English grammar that I do not believe could have been improved upon wherever I may have studied.

**I DO NOT** know where J. Riley Dungee was educated. I do not know whether he had a college degree.

All I do know is that he had a great fondness for the English language and, in his off moments, he used this language to commune with the Muse. Some of his poems were published in small booklets many years ago.

In the summing up, I suppose J. Riley Dungee must stand as a sort of symbol for many skilled and dedicated Negro teachers who gave their lives in the service of private Negro colleges and secondary schools in the South. Our boys and girls of today know nothing of these men and women who gave their all for a mere pittance.

They should. The names and achievements of these men and women should not be forgotten. Recently, James Baldwin, gifted Negro writer, published a book, **The Man Whom Nobody Knows.** Maybe Mr. Baldwin means himself, or you and me. I am sure he must include men and women of great competence like J. Riley Dungee.

## The Courier Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

# Why Berlin?

THERE must be some Americans, like myself, who wonder why our country must engage in "brinkmanship" and "I double dare you" in its relations with the Soviet Union and, particularly, over the city of Berlin.



Mr. Prattis

Twice in this writer's lifetime, the Germans have tried to destroy us.

I can recall no occasion when Russia has waged war against us.

Nevertheless, in all matters involving Russia, our national leadership is egged on to stick its chin out. It is amazing to me that most media which have to do with shaping public opinion use their influence to press or push the leaders of our Government into a position from which they can't retreat.

William Randolph Hearst was blamed for pushing us into the war with Spain. Today we are reaping the harvest from that ill-starred adventure.

**SO FAR** as I have been able to learn, we want to stay in Berlin (with our troops). We want access for the military and for civilians.

Russia proposes to sign a peace treaty with East Germany, thereby setting up East Germany as an independent whatever-you-may-call it. We, apparently, do not wish this separate peace treaty because we do not want another independent Communist state.

We do not want to be forced to do business with East Germany, with Russia looking over the shoulders of the East Germans.

We are afraid the East Germans might close the door to Berlin and that we would be compelled to ask them to open the door on **their** terms.

**IT IS FOR** this reason that we are preparing as rapidly as we can (we call it for our defense) to be firm. It is for this reason we are risking a nuclear war.

I feel sorry for the President. I would feel sorry if General Eisenhower were still President. At some point, if we keep pushing the President, he must make a decision that can only be implemented with the loss of millions of American lives and the loss of billions in property.

There must be some deep reason for the harmony among most outspoken Americans who insist that we must be firm on Berlin. For the life of me, I can't see why. I wouldn't want a son of mine to give his life for Berlin.

**I FEEL** sorry for President Kennedy for another reason. The Republicans are with him if he will but assume a resolute picture vis a vis the Soviet Union. They'll stand right behind him if Russia double-dares him to move a step closer.

But in 1964, if we still have an America the Beautiful, they will have a campaign issue. They'll be able to tell the public that once more the Democrats have led us into war—they will endeavor to create the image of the Democratic party as the war party and the Republican party as the peace party.

I hope that we can get out of this Berlin mess without the loss of a single American life.

## Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

# Character

I HOPE THIS PIECE can be written without creating the impression that I hate white people. I don't. Some of my best friends are white people. But, every now and then, I must react to their constant and wholesale denigration of me. Not all of them, of course, but enough to set a pattern. My public image is bad because they have made it bad. This I resent and rebel against.



Mr. Prattis

The effort still prevails to prove that I am biologically inferior. I am also lazy, indolent. I am a thief and a pilferer. I am a liar not to be trusted. I smell bad. I am outrageously immoral. My flesh is very weak and succumbs to watermelon and chicken. I don't like to take a bath. It is because of all these faults (and my incompetence) that I must be segregated.

Almost my only defense at this point is to scream: "You, too!"

**THEREFORE**, I read with sadness, not glee, the story of Mrs. Mae M. Wheeler, white, who is being tried in Butler, Pa., on five counts of forgery and 58 counts of embezzlement in connection with a $490,000 alleged shortage in the funds of the Workingmen's Building and Loan Association.

Mrs. Wheeler was secretary-treasurer of the association. With the kind of front most whites put up (pointing the finger at the other fellow), it is somehow difficult to imagine or to concede that a "nice lady" like Mrs. Wheeler would steal nearly a half-million dollars from her friends and neighbors in the Workingmen's Building and Loan Association.

Indeed, from the way they carry themselves and talk about others, it becomes difficult to accept the fact that some whites are lazy, that some smell bad, that some are immoral, that some are idiots, that some are thieves in the grand sense, and that many are murderers with the benefit of forethought.

■

**I AM SURE** that if Mrs. Wheeler had deigned to make an appearance before any Negro group, she would have been welcomed with a babble of voices and a frenzy of handshakes. She would have been received as a successful business woman with a "message" for her "inferiors."

No one would have suspected that Mrs. Wheeler might be a thief, even a liar. No one would have doubted that she bathed every day. No one would have suspected that she was weak enough to like chicken and watermelon, or that she might have body odor (although the trade in deodorants suggests a much larger market than the Negro can offer).

I hope Mrs. Wheeler is found not guilty. After all, all white Americans are "my white folks." I glory in their achievements and I am distressed when they go wrong. If they were more virtuous, that would make it much better for me. I have a weakness for copying their vices. If they had no vices, maybe I wouldn't have any either and America would be renamed Heaven.

# Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh Courier
1-9 Sec. 2

## Equation

PERHAPS, BY THE time this piece is published, the President will have issued his executive order on housing.

Ad 12-2-61

It is known, well, that much time and thought have gone into the preparation of a suitable draft. Too, it is known that the present draft scarcely resembles the the original draft.



Mr. Prattis

Those persons drawing up the order, under the direction of President Kennedy, have found it necessary, for practical reasons, to compromise.

Pittsburgh Pa.

**AS WRITTEN**, originally, according to the New York Times, all institutions receiving Federal aid or help, in any form, would have been forbidden to use the color line in respect to mortgages.

However, by this time, it is understood that the commercial banks, availing themselves of Federal Deposit insurance, will be exempted. This is a huge exemption, indeed.

To permit these commercial banks to do as they please would make a mockery of Federal restrictions on other banks and institutions. I do not think this is what the President wants, but he has a problem.

He wants to issue an executive order, barring discrimination in federally aided housing. Also, he wants to get certain important legislative measures through the next Congress. Here, he will run into the well-known coalition of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans.

This coalition stands prepared to tear administration bills to shreds. Thus, he must issue a housing order which some Southern Democrats can and will buy.

■

**ALSO, THERE IS** the matter of the new cabinet agency, the Department of Urban Affairs. The National Association of Real Estate Boards, already, has its axe honed to cut off the head of this measure.

If the President just would say that Robert C. Weaver, who happens to be a Negro, would not be the secretary of the new department, there would be no trouble creating the department.

But, now, the creation of the department, and the probable appointment of Weaver are being equated with an executive order on housing. If the executive order is too strong, the Southerners, and others, stand ready to block creation of the new department.

■

**THAT'S HOW THE** rough game of politics is played in Washington.

If the President compromises too much, he will lose the confidence of Negro voters. If he does not compromise enough, he will lose in Congress the votes of the Demo-publican coalition. What would you do?

There is some legislation which a President MUST get through Congress. Otherwise, he is a failure and, usually, the people lose.

All too often, as politics is played in the House and Senate, the interests of the people are not considered. The interests of individual men take the place of the interests of the people.

# Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

Pittsburgh Courier

## Goldwater

P-9

WHEN I was a kid, conservatives were regarded as stingy people. I was among the poorest of the poor and our plight would have been tragic indeed if there had not been some liberal people enough to help us. In Philadelphia, we kids were glad that everybody wasn't stingy. The Quakers didn't throw their money away, but neither were they stingy where help was needed.



Mr. Prattis

Under the impelling provocation of communism, I discern that there is a growing host of these stingy people who are on the rally, so to speak, and are determined to make the people (the voters, that is) fall in love with them. These penny-pinchers are of diverse sorts. Most of them could turn a cold nose toward the rest of them if they did not sort of figure they can get somewhere waving the banner of anti-communism.

Sat. 12-2-61

**I AM DISTURBED** by the presence of Senator Barry Goldwater in this heterogeneous mass, half of which has to make excuses for the other half. I am not merely disturbed —I am surprised. I understand that Senator Goldwater is a Jew who forsook his faith. If that is true, I would not criticize him for that. But I would criticize him for aligning himself with the stingy army. Jews are not stingy and they are not indifferent to the welfare of the people. The word welfare has an ominous meaning for Senator Goldwater.

Senator Goldwater has taken upon himself the job of making Republicans out of Southern Democrats. One must seek the basis of his appeal. Is it because he believes in states' rights? If so, does he believe that when he talks about states' rights and when Ross Barnett of Mississippi talks about states' rights, they are talking about the same thing? Ross Barnett means he wants to reserve the fight to keep his foot on my neck. Does Senator Goldwater want Barnett to move over and give him a shre of my neck?

Pittsburgh Pa.

**OF COURSE,** I know how Senator Goldwater can create thousands of Republican votes in the South. All he has to do is to find a way for his fellow Americans, of color, to vote in the South. If the Negro citizens in the South are allowed to register and vote, as a result of Senator Goldwater's efforts, he'll find undreamed of support for the Republican party, stingy or not stingy. So far, the good Senator has ducked around what he calls the "ethnic issue." It is not all that high-sounding, Mr. Senator. The issue is: Are Negroes to be first-class citizens or not? Are you in favor of that—or are you in favor of the Southern Manifesto?

At this point the Senator may enjoy being in the lead of an army of dissidents, but voters have a way of separating the wheat from the chaff. Whether he is conservative or liberal, Senator Goldwater will have to tell what he stands for when the chips are down.

## Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.

# Pride, Arrogance

PRIDE AND arrogance are almost twins except that one can be a virtue and the other can be a vice. You get nowhere without a sense of pride. Every man who puts to work the talents God has given him is self-propelled by his sense of pride. Of course, pride can spill over into arrogance. When there is too much pride over too little accomplishment and a tendency to show off, you have arrogance.



Mr. Prattis

A friend whom I have never seen writes to me frequently from Japan. Through him I am learning much about the Japanese people. I have always believed they were a smart people—even when your friends and my friends (white Americans) were trying to low-rate them by calling them imitators. I could not see how a people who could do things as well, or better, than we could be dumb.

■

**THE NOTE** my friend in Japan strikes most often has to do with Japanese pride. The Japanese are a proud (not arrogant) people. They believe in themselves. They're convinced he is to us, and that they should work hard to develop the talents God has given them.

Is this new face of America Negroes, sharing the blood o all the peoples of the world, proud people? Are America Negroes proud to the point tha they think they can do any thing anybody else can do, a well or better? Is there som thing that takes hold of ever American Negro boy and gi and fires them to meet th great challenges and needs o life?

Frankly, I doubt that w have developed the pride in ou selves that the Japanese hav in themselves. After all thes years, we are leaning on th white man. He is our guide an counsellor. We have not learn ed to shift for ourselves, to b the white man's competitor, no his liege. That is why we ar so poor (despite all this tal about Negro economic power We are poor compared to an group in America except po sibly the Indians. For the mo part, we have not learned th knack of doing business in big way, of competing for th general trade. Most Neg businesses (including new papers) are built on a dire appeal to Negroes. We "ain' ready yet to go downtown a do business.

■

**OF COURSE**, it is too la for many of us to change. W have a mind-set that makes lean on the white man rath than be proud of ourselv The "sit-in" demonstrations a a happy omen that a new g eration of Negroes will ha pride in themselves and, as consequence, will aim for t jackpot in all fields.

I hope to live to see the da when the "first and only N gro" passes from the scen When American Negroes b come proud of themselves, a the Japanese are, they will no be satisfied to make up th rear of the parade of progress Something will catch hold o them in elementary school and beckon to the new frontiers beyond. The white man, so far, has been our crutch. We need to throw away the crutch and try our own legs. Only a proud people makes progress.

## Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.

# Preparedness

AS THIS article is being written (Dec. 31, 1960), something extraordinary, with great significance for Negroes, young and old, is happening. There is a well-prepared Negro, with experience, whom everybody is tryiig to get on his team. This particular Negro, whom I first heard of in the early thirties when Dr. W. E. B. DuBois lauded him before a group at Grace Congregational Church, Chicago, can have his choice of three important jobs.



Mr. Prattis

This Negro can stay where he is with the Housing and Redevelopment Board, New York City, of which he is vice chairman at a reputed salary of $22,500 a year, or he can become president of Manhattan Borough, succeeding Hulan Jack, at a salary of $25,000 a year, or he can return to his hometown, Washington and become National Housing Administrator under President Kennedy. The choice for him is difficult, I would say. By the time this piece is read, he will have made his choice.

■

**ALTHOUGH** Robert C. Weaver has long been my friend, I am not particularly bowled over by the fact that he receives the recognition he deserves. His significance to me at this time is the fact that he is prepared by training and experience for almost any job that could have been offered him. Possessed of the training and experience, the jobs come after him.

Ever since 30 years ago, when Dr. DuBois told those of us at Harold Kingsley's church that there was a young economist out of Harvard from whom much was to be expected, I have followed Bob Weaver's star. I told myself that if DuBois said he was good he must be good—in his field. Dr. Weaver's writings and his professional experience have proved that Dr. DuBois was right.

■

**DR. WEAVER** went to work in Washington when the Democrats were in power. I suppose he was a Democrat and that he has remained a Democrat ever since. But his advancement has not been due to political activity on his part. He is simply a qualified man whom the Democratic party likes to use. Under Governor Harriman, he was rent administrator for the state of New York.

I would say that the recognition given Dr. Weaver should have significance to all young Negroes because it shows how you can go up if you are prepared. This is not the time for young Negroes to be frustrated. It is a time to work harder and harder for an education and for the opportunity to use that education. This is the time for young Negroes to reach for the star Dr. Weaver hitched his future on. It is also a time for parents to press more and more to see that their children are educated for the needs of the times.

There was a point of some significance in the efort to get Dr. Weaver as Manhattan Borough president. Hulan Jack had fouled out. But even politicians in opposing camps thought that if they could get Weaver in the job they would have a Clean man—somebody who was not merely competent but Honest as well.

## Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.

# Two Souths

IT IS TO be hoped that President Kennedy's political and civil rights strategists will recognize that there are "two Souths" as they develop their massive plans to recapture for the Union, in spirit and in truth, the vast geographical area which lies below the Mason and Dixon line. The real estate is the same, but there are two kinds of people—two kinds of white Southerners and two kinds of black Southerners.



Mr. Prattis

I believe President Kennedy wants to do something about the race problem in the United States. But I am not sure he knows what to do. Like most Yankees from the Northeast, his thinking about the South is bound to be a bit fuzzy and timorous. He has had the chance to meet only Southern politicians and businessmen. He has had the opportunity of knowing few Negroes.

**A BASIC CONCEPT** that must be acknowledged and clearly seen, if the people of the South are to think and act and behave as other Americans, is that there are thousands of whites and Negroes in the South who are lurking for the chance to work with one another. They know each other well, are aware of their strengths and weaknesses and, despite all the meanness you read about in the newspapers, they like each other, are actually fond of each other.

What's wrong then? There is a "power structure" in the present South which, for political and economic reasons, promotes hostility between the very Negroes and whites who should be working together for the advancement of the South. Attention must be given, therefore, to the skillful creation of a new "power structure" with new aims, new objectives.

**THIS "POWER** structure" can be set up and put to work if the strategists in Washington use properly and unobstrusively their power and the favors they have to bestow. The South is supposed to be "conservative." But 25 years ago, Roosevelt had "liberals" blooming all over the South. It is forgotten that Lister Hill was once a "liberal." Also, that Lyndon Johnson joined the team as a member of the "liberal corps." Senator Claude Pepper, Florida, was one of the greatest of these "liberals." They were part of an emerging new "power structure" which languished under Truman and died under Eisenhower.

There are thousands of Southern whites who will accept President Kennedy's call if it is clear enough. And they will work with Negroes. What they need most is power behind them and the opportunity.

Civil rights for Negroes is a goal ardently to be sought. But unity of the nation, based upon the recognition of the rights of citizens in all 50 states, is even more important.

I hope President Kennedy's strategists plan to recruit a new "power structure" in the South, give it the tools with which to work, and moral support.

## Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

# Two Friends

THE MOST evil product of segregation is the separateness, which prevents whites and Negroes from knowing one another. This is poignantly brought out in a small new book written by Ralph and Carl Creger, father and son, residents



Mr. Prattis

# Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

## Memo to Wilkins

I HAVE knowledge of a rare species of person who lives in Wichita, Kan. I do not know what to do with him—or about him. He is a gentleman of strong, if somewhat queer, convictions, whom somebody (I know not whom) should put to good use. He would doubtless perform loyal and condign service as a tale bearer, and he would certainly be conspicuous as the one man who thought he was right and everybody else wrong.



Mr. Prattis

I would turn this estimable gentleman over to Bill Trent of the United Negro College Fund, but Bill may have had him in tow for, lo, these many years without being able to exploit talents of this remarkable human being. So, I am forced, as most of us are sooner or later, to turn to Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP. Roy breathed in the Kansas air for many years and ought to know what kind of men the soil out that way produces.

FOR ROY'S information, I should like to reproduce an epistolic gem which my man wrote to Senator Willis Robertson, chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee, when that committee was considering the nomination of Robert C. Weaver as administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. Herewith follows my man's tribute to Weaver:

"Dear Senator: I am a Negro publisher of Wichita, Kan. We also head a Negro scholarship fund for eligible Negro students in our city's metropolitan area. We believe that the only way the Negro can solve his apathy is through a thorough education. Therefore, we keep very close contact with Senator Andy Schoeppel and Senator Barry Goldwater.

"Today, I wish to call upon your cooperation for the opposing of Mr. Weaver to the FHA post. We feel that it would be a discredit to our race to have a Negro in such a high post who isn't qualified educationally, socially and religiously. This man was picked because Kennedy had to keep his commitment with the vicious and brutal NAACP gang of New York State. Should a high appointment of this type go to a man just because he is an NAACP official? Therefore, I am urging you to stop this unqualified man's nomination.

"We are Negro citizens who believe and will fight for education for the Negro. Not to push the Negro or to make him a political football, but to help him strive for higher goals through education. Thank you. Respectfully yours,

"JAMES E. RUFFIN."

■

ROY, YOU now have Mr. Ruffin wrapped up in cellophane in the foregoing letter. Even you, with your great talent for handling men, may not be able to get the best (or the worst) out of Jim Ruffin. But if you find out you can't handle him, you'll discover he is handling you. He'll make you stop and think of all the kinds of people you have met in a long lifetime, of the kinds of people by which the world is populated.

# Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

## Integration

IN THE Feb. 4 issue of the Nation magazine, there is an article entitled "Equality Now," by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. He was good enough to send me a reprint, and I was pleased to read his article thoughtfully. He has gone to great pains to discover all the powers the President has to promote equality. Those of us who haven't done the research Dr. King has, are bound to be informed and benefited by the report on his study.



Mr. Prattis

•

However, Dr. King does more than lay the facts before his reading public. He makes suggestions . . . as he has a perfect right to do. And here again, I find myself disagreeing with him. One of his suggestions, or recommendations, is that the President should appoint a Secretary of Integration with rather sweeping powers. I am against any Secretary of Integration.

■

IT SEEMS to me that in the deadly game of semantics, the chief weapon of the cold war, we Negroes are always caught with our slip showing. We allow the opposition to take certain words and invest them with emotion-stirring concepts. These words are used to beat our brains out. The opposition in shrewder than we are. You don't hear them talking about "gradualism" any more. Even the moderates found that the word was so bad they could not sell the concept behind it—to us.

Some of our smarter leaders recognized how the word "integration" was being maltreated to our disadvantage. So they came up with another word which, I admit, required some brow-knitting to understand. The word was "desegregation." This is a better word than "integration," but, semantically, it is not a word with punch.

The opposition takes the word "integration" and makes it mean "forced integration," just about everything that can set the woolheads pounding their Bibles and reaching for their ropes and crosses. Even to us, integration signifies just a bit too much that we WANT to be all mixed up with whites. That is not true at all. I would die rather than be mixed up, in any way, with some of them.

■

OF COURSE, a Secretary of Integration would never be approved by the Senate, but even if he were, I think that, semantically handcuffed, he would be the source of more probable evil than probable good.

I would settle for the kind of secretary Bob Weaver may ultimately become and, of course, more like him. If Negroes have capabilities and their capabilities are recognized by the Government so that they may work for all the American people, that fills the bill for me. I expect the present President to be Secretary of Equal Opportunity for all Americans—in education, in employment, in voting, in the effort to obtain housing. If he will show me that he's doing that (and keeping the Union together), I'll pass up a Secretary of Integration.

## Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Courier

# Mr. Robinson

WHAT goes into the making of a Negro leader? When Joe Louis was at the height of his fame, and since, he was often used as a spokesman for the Negro race. To Joe's credit, it must be said that he did not work hard at the job. But others are less paranoid — if they are paranoid. They are asked to be spokesmen and they convince themselves that they have something to say.



Mr. Prattis

I recall ruminating some years ago about the role of Jackie Robinson. He was the most talked-about and written-about player with the Brooklyn Dodgers' baseball team at that time. It seems, as I look back, that Paul Robeson had said something sensitive over in Paris that struck Uncle Sam on his funny bone. Spokesmen from the Negro race were needed to correct the misdeed of Mr. Robeson. A Senate or a House committee began to line up Negroes who would say that Mr. Robeson did not reflect the thinking of Negroes.

■

**LESTER GRANGER**, executive secretary of the National Urban League, worked into the early morning hours writing a statement to be read before this Congressional committee and, of course, to be released to the press. Mr. Granger wrote his statement for Witness Jackie Robinson. Mr. Robinson appeared and read his statement which was headlined all over the country. The voice was the voice of Jackie (Jacob), but the hands were the hands of Lester (Esau). On that same day, the learned president of Fisk University spoke before that same committee, using his own words and his own voice. But Charles Spurgeon Johnson received scarcely a line in the press. The celebrity received the headlines.

One cannot help but wnder if headlines go to the head of celebrities. Jackie has been exploited and has permitted himself to be exploited in many different ways—usually for some good purpose. He certainly deserves credit for giving his name to good causes. But popularity does not make a leader. And celebrities, whether of the stage, diamond or gridiron, should be cautioned against taking leadership roles. By doing so, they often spoil their public image.

■

**I THINK** Jackie Robinson had a perfect right in the last campaign to support Vice President Nixon. I hope he voted for him. But, in justice to himself, he should not have split his following by publicly taking sides and changing thousands of admirers into critics. In spite of Jackie's heroic effort for Nixon, between 70 and 80 per cent of all voting Negroes voted for Kennedy. They did not follow Jackie's advice, and some were downright angry with Jackie for trying to tell them how they should vote. His reception as a political partisan was far different from the acclaim he received as a baseball hero.

And what has happened to Jacob and Esau on the New York Post. Esau was providing the words for the column and Jackie was providing the by-line. With no more column, the early storms in the East have caught Esau without a split-pay envelope. I want to continue to love Jackie, Mahalia, Belafonte, Lena, the whole pack of celebrities. But I would advise them all not to take themselves too seriously and to stay out of politics.

## Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

# "All Whites Are Liars"

DURING the emotion-packed days which followed the murder of Patrice Lumumba (a foul deed that will consign Moise Tshombe to history's gallery of infamy), word came out of Kivu Province in the Congo that some native leaders were saying that "all whites are liars." This is not true, but it is important that white people should understand why American and American Negroes, some of them, might be disposed to make the charge.



Mr. Prattis

This is as unfair to white people, generally, as the tendency evinced two weeks ago by some newspapers to make it appear that the outbreak in the United Nations galleries was representative of the thinking or attitude of American Negroes generally. It was thoughtful of Dave Garroway to impress upon those persons who listen to "Today" the fact that the group which brought discredit on itself at the United Nations represented only a clique. There are cliques or special groups, among Negroes as among whites. This particular group no more represented the American Negroes 20 million of them, than George Rockwell of the American Nazi party represents 160,000,000 white Americans.

■

**THERE IS** the tendency among Negroes to think that "all whites are liars" because for the last three or four centuries, Negroes have been lied to and cheated by many whites who were profiting at the expense of Negroes and Africans. Futhermore, the Negro looks out his window at the white man, the respected white man, and hears him lying, talking deviously, seeking words by which to dissemble. None of this is lost on Negroes.

In the anti-trust cases against the great appliance companies, there were lying and dishonesty in high places. Negroes can see this and so can Africans. In the quiz shows there were lying and dishonestry.

■

**ALL TOO** often the Negro is the victim of the white man's lying. Or, working in the white man's home, he can listen to the white man's lies. Again, all too often, there are Negroes who are influenced by the white man's example of lying.

Some Negroes begin to think it's all in the game. They start lying, too.

What is meant when there is talk of a code of ethics in labor, in business, in the executive branch of the government (but not in Congress)? It is meant that efforts should be made to set standards to reduce the deceit and the forms of lying which dishonesty takes.

But "all whites are not liars," and the honest whites are against the lying whites. There are liars and truthful men and women in any group. All Negroes are not liars, nor are all of them truthful.

Nor would all Negroes have embarrassed their country by staging a violent demonstration at the United Nations even though most Negroes probably deplore the murder of Patrice Lumumba.

## Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Courier

# Congo Cure

ALTHOUGH nobody has asked me for it, I am brash enough and concerned enough to offer my cure for the Congo crisis.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

So often we look afar for solutions to grievous problems and overlook a solution which may be reached by simply extending the arm and bending over.



Mr. Prattis

The classic example of this was cited years ago by Booker T. Washington, who recalled that men dying of thirst on a ship on the Amazon River needed only to "dip their buckets where they were."

My cure for the Congo crisis is a man. His name is Hyman Chase. He is a lieutenant colonel in the United States Army.

I think he is presently assigned to Howard University as military instructor. This man's superb talents are being wasted. Why? Because he is too good a soldier. He is a soldier, not a diplomat.

■

**IF HE WERE** white, Hyman Chase would be a lieutenant general, not a lieutenant colonel.

But, because he is a good soldier, is no respecter of persons and steps on the toes of anybody caught wrong, Hyman Chase is relegated to Howard University.

Most of the troubles in the Congo have been caused by a mutinous army. When the Belgians quit, the army was left without commissioned officers.

A Congolese sergeant named Lundula was made a major general. That makes no sense at all. The Congolese need a real soldier whom they can trust to build their army or armies, whether they have a federated or central government.

■

**HYMAN CHASE** (if arthritis has not caught up with him) is the man.

There would be no mutinies under Hyman Chase.

He is too strong a man, too good a soldier. His iron hand would be respected. His know-how would also win him support.

Furthermore, Hyman could pass for a Congolese. He may even speak some French. He's a military man who could attend to military matters and leave the politicians to themselves.

■

**ONE STUPENDOUS** job Colonel Chase did was to kep the air transport going during the airlift to Berlin more than a decade ago.

It was Colonel Chase's truck companies which kept food and coal going into Berlin. Was he tough? Sure! He had a tough job. He stepped on toes, but he got the job done.

Some polite way should be found to induce the Congolese to request the United States to lend them Colonel Chase for a year or two. He would train a disciplined army and create order where chaos now exists.

With all due respect to the Africans, there isn't a black African anywhere who knows as much about soldiering as Col. Hyman Chase.

# Two Friends

By P. L. Prattis

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THE MOST evil product of segregation is the separateness, which prevents whites and Negroes from knowing one another. This is poignantly brought out in a small new book written by Ralph and Carl Creger, father and son, residents of Little Rock, Ark. The title of the book is, "This Is What We Found."



Mr. Prattis

In the fall of 1959, after Governor Faubus had caused so much trouble and violence over school segregation, Carl Creger, 17 years old, and a student at Central High School, was asked by his history teacher to write a theme on any subject he chose. Carl talked the matter over with his father, chief dispatcher for the Rock Island Railroad, in Little Rock, and between them they decided it would be a good thing to delve into the history of the Negro and write about that.

SO, FATHER and son went to work. They read everything they could find in the libraries in Little Rock. When they finished, they had enough material, not merely for a high school paper, but for a small book as well. Their book, "This Is What We Found," tells what they did find. You know what they found —but most white folk don't. Therein lies the value of the book. Their small paper bound book is a primer for white folk. It can help any white person, who desires to climb over the wall erected by segregationists.

One colored woman in Little Rock, Mrs. I. S. McClinton (who has been blind for 20 years),

thought so much of the book. that she arranged to purchase copies to be sent to every United States Senator, to President Kennedy and Vice President Johnson.

"THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND" is plainly written. It tells a simple story of the Negro in the United States, and what he has meant to the growth of this great country. Without sentimentalism, it acknowledges the Negro's worth. It points up the value of cooperative friendship and work between whites and Negroes—North and South.

This small book won't do John Hope Franklin, Rayford Logan, L. D. Redick, or any of our other historians (specially Rogers) one bit of good, but it can help white folk. That is why Negroes, who can afford to do so, should buy, not one, but several copies, so that they can autograph them and send them to whites, who have eyes, but cannot see.

I cannot imagine how a $10 investment could do more good. It would catch the "enemy" at an unguarded point and result in countless surrenders. Ralph Bunche has read the book and I understand he was delighted by it. If you're a thoughtful person (and I'm sure you are), I know that, once you have read it, you will see the possibilities of this book by two Arkansas whites, father and son, who studied their way out of the gloom.

# Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

# Highlander

JUST SO we can see how "professional" and vindictive some so-called anti-Communists can be, we have now learned of the existence of a secret society which dubs former President Eisenhower as a card-carrying Communist, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman and God knows who else.



Mr. Prattis

Fighting communism in our country, however little there may be of it, may pay off such big returns, financially and otherwise, that there is always the possibility of a fresh anti-Communist organization which interprets the kind of diapers your baby wears in terms of Communist ideology.

This leads to consideration of the troubles of Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn. This school was set up many years ago, largely as an educational center for members of trade unions.

The chances are some Commies slipped in in the early days, but there has never been any proof of Communist affiliation or even of orientation—unless the practice of 100 per cent orientation.

■

**RECENTLY, THE** Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., threw the weight of his influence behind the program at Highlander. There was an immediate howl in some quarters, those quarters who look for a Communist under every biscuit.

It was averred that Dr. King was going to impair the influence of the Southern Christian Leadership movement by identifying himself with Highlander.

Such deductions and others that were worse, are pure hogwash. Highlander is in trouble because it has brought whites and Negroes together on the same campus, allowed them to study and live in the same building. It is guilty of offending the traditional "mores" of the South.

It is a connecting link between God-inbued white Southerners and the same type of Negro. It is an annoying speck on the horizon to the white supremacists. How can they get rid of this annoyance? They can say it is Communist or Communist orientated.

They know they can find a lot of buyers for such trash.

■

**BUT NEGROES** ought not to buy it. Our problems in this country will never be solved without the help of white Americans, particularly Southern whites. We must allow nothing to be done that will drive our Southern white friends to cover. As the white supremacists defame them, we must guard and protect them. We must be loyal to them.

■

**THE WHITE** supremacists who profess a belief in God, but deny him in their works as the Father of us all, must not be allowed to get away with their device for destroying our friends by pinning Communist labels on them.

Thank God, there have been few Communists among us. We know how to tell them, and we don't want to do business with them.

# Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

The Courier

# A Side Issue

THE NAIVETE with which Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Abraham Ribicoff has dismissed the so-called Powell Amendment to the Education Bill is sadly disturbing and disappointing.

One of the reasons is because



Secretary Ribicoff is a lawyer and another is the fact that he belongs to a minority group himself. When he says that the Powell amendment is aimed at "a side issue" and that there is no law to support executive action, he leaves many persons puzzled.

Negroes, I am sure, would agree that more and better education of all American children is a major goal. The Federal government proposes to spend more than five billion dollars to help the states.

The states can use the money as they please: to build schools and/or to raise teachers' salaries. The decision is left to the states. The Southern states which are the poorest would get the greatest amount of money per student because they are the neediest.

■

**IN 1954,** the Supreme Court of the United States held that segregated public schools are unconstitutional, against the law.

It decreed that states with segregated schools should move "with all deliberate speed" to desegregate their schools.

Secretary Ribicoff says that there is no law under which the Federal appropriations to states for education can be withheld by executive action on account of segregation in schools.

Is the Supreme Court decision of 1954 the "law of the land" or is it not? President Kennedy is on record as having said the decision is the "law of the land" and that he personally supports it. The Supreme Court voted unanimously on the constitutional principle involved. On Jan. 20, President Kennedy swore to uphold the Constitution. Cabinet members must uphold the Constitution.

■

**OF COURSE,** what Mr. Ribicoff really means is that he does not want to see the entire program founder because of the Powell Amendment or because of executice action which might arouse greater hostility in the South which would benefit most.

Mr. Ribicoft should be aware that in taking this position he is permitting a regional minority of our total population to dominate his thinking and action. Some politicians in the South, but not all Southerners, are willing to sacrifice the help they need rather than obey the "law of the land."

This is not a "side issue" because whether the education bill wins or is defeated, the issue of segregation in our public schools affects our image all over the world. The Federal government can no longer afford to condone segregation.

I would like to know whether Mr. Ribicoff thinks the opposition of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to the education bill is a "side issue."

## Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

# Carl Braden

UNLESS THE United States Supreme Court grants a rehearing (which is doubtful), Carl Braden, a white Southerner from Louisville, Ky., will enter a Federal prison in May to serve a one-year term for contempt of Congress.



Mr. Prattis

The contempt charge against him was based upon his refusal, under the First Amendment to the Constitution, to answer ANY questions put to him by the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives at hearings held in Atlanta, Ga.

Braden and his wife, Anne, first came to public notice and got into trouble when they helped a Negro friend of theirs to buy a home in a development in the suburbs of the city of Louisville.

At the time, Mrs. Braden was peacefully attending to her duties as a housewife and Braden was coming and going without impediment of any sort to and from his job with Louisville Courier-Journal.

■

**WHEN THE** Negro friend moved into the newly-purchased home, all hell broke loose for him and the Bradens. The Negro family, despite guards, had to suffer sustained attacks against them and the house.

But for the Bradens, it was worse. They had helped their Negro friend. What could the Negrophobes say about that? You guessed it. They could say that the Bradens were Communists. And how could they prove it? Easily.

They could invade the Braden home and inspect the library. If they found any of the works of Karl Marx or any copies of the Communist Daily Worker, Braden and his wife, ipso facto, must be Communist.

This was suposed to be a deadly charge, calculated to put Braden behind the bars for years. But those who made the charge could not make it stand up in court and Braden was freed.

■

**BUT WHITE** Southerners, when they are stubborn, are real stubborn.

Even though some of their Negro friends in Louisville wavered when the going got rough, the Bradens were more determined than ever to live according to the Golden Rule and to recognize that all members of the human race are God's children.

The promotion of brotherhood (and integration, if you wish) became the big purpose in their lives. Educated, energetic and intelligent, the Bradens were, and are, a threat to the white supremacists.

The best way to get one, or both, of them out of the way, was to harass them and sick the un-American Activities Committee on him. Carl Braden did not miss the point. He knew why he was a marked man.

■

**FOR THE** moment, the white supremacists have the body of Carl Braden, but not his soul. Braden is ready to go to jail if need be. His brave wife is prepared to meet the ordeal. He will have a new address sometime in May. I hope to share it with you.

What do Negroes do for whites who make the sacrifice for them. Twenty-seven years ago, there was a judge, Horton by name, in Alabama, who stood out courageously for Negroes in the famous Scottsboro case.

Negroes have allowed the name of this brave white Southerner to be forgotten. He deserves a posthumous Spingarn Medal, but none has been awarded him.

Carl Braden is going to jail with his chin up. But he would be greatly heartened just to know that your prayers go with him. The name of Braden must become a part of Negro history, the name of a family, fighting our cause, which stood its ground under the severest fire.

## Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

# Reader Writes

NOT ALWAYS do readers write—unless they want to bawl you out. Sometimes, though, there is a reader with a measure point of view.

Should he be allowed to express himself? Sure he should! This week, I am pleased to reproduce a letter received from Ben Cashaw of Johnston, Pa., which I think contains an important point of view. Mr. Cashaw writes:



Mr. Prattis

"I have read your column, 'Horizon,' with the subtitle, 'Pride and Arrogance.' You remind us that the Japanese are a proud people. Then you ask the question: 'Is this new face of American Negroes, sharing the blood of all the people of the world, the face of a proud people?'

"The first observation I should like to make is that there is no comparison between Negroes and Japanese. The Japanese people have never been separated from their past.

"They can trace their past back to the Mikado 450 years before Christ. We have not only been separated from our past, but we have not been permitted the full opportunity to develop in a society of which we are a part. For a people to be proud they must have something of which they can be proud. That something which the pride of a people must be built around will have to be so prevalent in the life of a people that it becomes common knowledge to all of them.

"The common knowledge of us American Negroes is that we are the most misused, misrepresented, and misunderstood people in the world. Anyone who has not been convinced of this fact, only needs to direct his attention toward the many shelves of books that have been written by Negroes, whether they are fiction or non-fiction.

"Here is a list of them: **Up From Slavery** by Booker T. Washington; **Souls of Black Folk**, W. E. B. DuBois; **Growing Up in the Black Belt**, Charles S. Johnson; **The Weary Blues**, Langston Hughes; **Native Son**, Richard Wright; **No Green Pastures**, Roi Ottley; **No Day of Triumph**, J. Saunders Redding; **South of Freedom**, Carl T. Rowan, and **Stride Toward Freedom**, Martin Luther King Jr.

"The list of books that I have read, digested and evaluated seems endless, for I could go on and on, but it is needless, for they all tell the same story. They represent the lamentable expression of a people who have been bruised. I am not surprised that we are a poor people. I am rather astonished that we keep our souls and bodies together.

"You hope that something will catch hold of them in elementary school and beckon them to the new frontiers beyond. I have not been to school in more than 40 years. I knew that there was nothing that I learned in school that ever made me proud that I was a Negro.

"Mr. Prattis, I would like to suggest that you evaluate the things that are so prevalent in the life of us American Negroes that would make us proud of ourselves."

## Horizon
By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

# Putrid Relations

IF YOU don't think the Southern (and Northern) white supremacists are out to keep the Negro "in his place," you just ought to try to keep up with the peregrinations of members of the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission.



Mr. Prattis

This is a state agency created to defy the 14th amendment to the Constitution and the Supreme Court school decision of 1954.

The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, using public funds, acts as a cover and supporter for the White Citizens Councils in Mississippi. Although Mississippi is last in everything progressive by which states are measured, she has now gone into the business of propagandizing the other states and trying to sell them the Mississippi brand of race relations.

Wherever there is an audience, the State Sovereignty Commission is sending speakers over the country to try to influence others to accept the Mississippi "way of life," or to persuade them that the Mississippi "way of life" is what God intended for the Garden of Eden.

■

**ALTHOUGH I AM** confident the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission is going to waste the public money—in terms of the positive results it will get (it can't sell most Northerners more racial prejudice than they already have)—I cannot overlook the audacity of this broad scale attack on the rights of human beings in this democracy.

Nor can I overlook the lies which are told in the name of Mississippi Negroes. These are lies about how well satisfied Mississippi Negroes are and how chummy they are across the fence of racial segregation.

■

**IN THE** course of time, the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission (which is using Negro taxpayers' money without their consent) will learn that they are spreading untruths across the land and dividing the American people. This is the same objective the Communists have.

They don't roll up guns. They sow disunity.

How much more sensible, more practical and more moral, are the aims of the Southern Christian Leadership Movement and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Dr. King spreads the message of togetherness (without meaning that he desires to go into the home of any white person).

He teaches his followers that they must not hate (even the members of the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission), but rather love and ask God's forgiveness for those who visit injustice upon the Negro. He exhorts his followers to fight injustice, not the white race, nor any portion of the white race, or any individuals in the white race.

Integration for Dr. King is the removal of senseless, cruel barriers which keep his people from giving their best to their country. Without spending a cent, his word goes farther than all the dollars spent by the State of Mississippi.

# Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

ALTHOUGH THE Moral Re-Armament movement dates back as far as 1921, or earlier, the masses of people in our country, as well as others, know little or nothing about it.

The Movement has grown (in point of numbers) and has spread itself around the world. Its influence is being felt on every continent.



Mr. Prattis

Moral Re-Armament is strongly anti-Communist. So is the John Birch Society. What is the difference between them? Why is one good, the other bad? Moral Re-arament is based on moral values, on an ideology which springs from moral values. The dedicated followers of Moral Re-Armament listen to the voice of God as they hear it.

They are against bitterness, hate and greed. They are against Communists, but they do not hate Communists. They endeavor to change Communists. Where there is hate, they seek to substitute love.

Where there is bitterness, they speak with understanding. Where there is greed they cling to a standard of unselfishness. The followers of Moral Re-Armament seek to unite, to bring together, all men, of all races, creeds and colors, under the guidance of God.

■

**THE JOHN** Birch Society is divisive. Because its members hate communism, they set brother against brother, friend against friend, American against American. Its members sow seeds of suspicion rather than the lessons of love.

A member of the John Birch Socie ty (which is against communism) could not subscribe to Moral Re-Armament (unless he changed) and a disciple of Moral Re-Armament would not join the John Birch Society unless it changed.

Because of their belief in God's guidance, followers of Moral Re-Armament believe that human nature can be changed. They start with themselves.

Members of Moral Re-Armament proudly proclaim the changes in themselves and in their lives which have been brought about by the ideology of the movement. This ideology is based on what are known as four absolute standards: ABSOLUTE LOVE, ABSOLUTE PURITY, ABSOLUTE UNSELFISHNESS, ABSOLUTE HONESTY.

With these guide lines and the teachings of their leader, Frank Buchman, the disciples of Moral Re-Armament have planted the seeds for a hate-free, greed-free, bitterness-free onslaught against communism in every continent.

**ONLY RECENTLY,** Moral Re-Armament held a conference in Hollywood, Fla. Every continent was represented.

The purpose of the conference was to build up moral fences against communism in Latin-America. Fourteen Latin-American nations were represented by men and women of significance.

While the guns were blazing in Cuba, the delegates to the Moral Re-Armament conference were planning a continent-wide attack on communism that would unite Latin-Americans against the common enemy.

# Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

## Confusion

BELIEVE me, I am confused.

Even as I write, the most auspicious group of official notables from this country to ever visit Japan has arrived and is being driven to a conference center where it will meet its like number from Japanese officialdom.



Mr. Prattis

I am not complaining, but I seem to recall that only 20 years ago some of these Japanese slipped up on us during the night and tried to slit our collective throat.

Once again, I am against the Commies. They are against God and I put my trust in God.

However, I do recall that these same Communists were our allies 20 years ago and that if they had not been, there is valid reason to suspect that we may not have won the war or, in winning it, lost thousands more of American lives. Today, we are expending $50 billion a year to defend ourselves against our ally of 20 years ago and we have set our foremost defenses in Germany which sought to destroy us 20 years ago.

P. G. Dec. 2

**SIXTEEN YEARS** ago, we dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. A few days later we dropped another atomic bomb on Nagasaki.

We did not stop to gain the permission of the world-at-large, nor even its approval. Our President, then, Harry S. Truman, made the decision.

We did not stop to think about what the fall-out from these bombs would do to future generations of human beings — Japanese. We could have dropped our bombs on Mount Fujiyama or in Nagasaki Bay to demonstrate the great power of the new weapon. We did not. We dropped them where thousands of innocent men, women and children were killed.

Pittsburgh, Pa

**I WISH** an end to all nuclear testing.

Sat. 11-11-61

Just as the Egyptians have forgotten their ancient art of embalming, I wish God would help us to forget how to make even an atom bomb. But I fail to understand our indignation, and that of the rest of the world, over Soviet atmospheric testing of hydrogen bombs.

I particularly fail to understand when we inject the moral issue and when we speculate on the harm to future generations.

We ignored the moral issue when we dropped the first atomic bomb. We failed to speculate then on the genetic effect. Of course, these were the Japanese who were first to feel the strength of our new might.

There are some of us who still question whether, under any circumstances, our atom bombs would have been dropped on cities populated by white men, women and children.

I suppose I'll have to remain confused until I have had time to confer with my colleagues, J. A. Rogers and George S. Schuyler. Rogers will teach me the lesson of history and George, the facts of life.

# Horizon

By P. L. Prattis

The Pittsburgh Courier

## Our Chance

IF I POINT the finger at the weaknesses of some of our white fellow citizens, please believe me when I write that it is not because I hate them or am against them. Some of my best friends are "white folks." However, I will confess that I am rather ardent about taking advantage of their weaknesses and helping them by setting the example.



Mr. Prattis

I think I have dwelt too much on the fact that white folks, big ones and little ones, will lie. The classic example of this was Adlai Stevenson's denial to the United Nations that the United States had had anything to do with the Cuban invasion. This was a lie of such proportions that it should haunt Mr. Stevenson the balance of his life.

I do not wish now to write about lying. I wish to write about dishonesty. You will recall the dishonesty disclosed in the television quiz show programs. All these dishonest persons were white. More recently, we have been forced to acknowledge that some of the leaders in industry, big businessmen, have been caught defrauding various levels of govenrment with rigged bids. This was dishonesty on a grand scale.

Sat 12-18-61

**I WOULD** like to quote two paragraphs from "Embezzlers, Beware," an article which appeared recently in **This Week.**

"Biggest menace in the nation's banks today is the embezzler. Millions of newspaper readers gasped earlier this year at the headlines reporting a $2,000,000 embezzlement by a sweet old lady cashier in Sheldon, Iowa. In Ellenville, N. Y., a bank president was given a five-year sentence for misapplying $1.300,000.

"Recently the nation's bankers were staggered by FBI figures covering the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961. In this period there were 1,909 reported cases of bank fraud totaling $10,937,000."

Some of the things going on today among "our white folks" would make Diogenes skeptical indeed of every white face his lantern light shone upon.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

**HOWEVER,** in a way, I am all for this dishonesty. This gives us a chance. Of course, they are not going to give us those high-class jobs in the banks or make us executives in the large corporations where we can rig prices. But we don't need such jobs to prove that we are honest. The unemployed handyman who returned the money dropped from a Brink's truck did something to prove that we are honest. The airport porter who found and returned to its owner a purse containing $10,000 in bonds also took advantage of "our white folks'" present weakness.

Honesty is irresistible. If enough of us made simple honesty the pattern of our lives, you'd find dishonest whites reaching for our services. Even the worst thief or gangster is always looking for somebody he can trust. I like Martin Luther King's program, but if we could establish ourselves as symbols of trustworthiness, even Eastland would take a second thought.

# History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

THE MOST striking thing about the Civil War Centennial so far is not the split between North and South over its observance but that Negroes, whose fathers and grandfathers played such a decisive role in the war, are asleep to its importance.



Mr. Rogers

Will Mrs. Madelaine Williams' refusal to go to Fort Sumter, and President Kennedy's protest at her jim-crowing help any? it remains to be seen.

Scores of white societies, North and South, are celebrating what white regiments and their heroes did. What of the Negro regiments? Nothing so far.

Yet Lincoln said they provided the balance of power that saved the Union. You'll find such collected in the Lincoln Encyclopedia, under "Negro Troops, Importance Of." And in such phrases as "Abandon all the posts now garrisoned by black men . . . and we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks."

Also, "Keep it (the Negro's help) and you can save the Union. Throw it away and the Union goes with it."

■

**AND THE** immense sacrifices made by them. For instance, General Butler told of Negro troops at New Market Heights, where 543 of them lay dead after a successful charge against the Confederates.

He said the faces of the 543 dead were "upturned in the shining sun as if in mute appeal against the wrongs of the country for which they had given their lives and whose flag had been to them a flag of stripes on which no glory had ever shone for them."

Twenty-one of them won the Medal of Honor, highest decoration for valor. Were Negroes awake what a splendid illustrated volume could be made of all this.

■

**ON THE OTHER** hand the whites are turning out books and articles galore, with little or no mention of Negroes. And why should they since we are so indifferent to the fact that the Centennial is being used against us.

It is also being used against the Jews. But they aren't taking it lying down. Morris U. Schapes in "Jewish Currents" makes that clear. In June 1959, Gen. U. S. Grant III, national chairman, endorsed a bulletin blaming the Civil War on "Jewish financiers."

While head of the National Parks, General Grant also introduced jim crow in Rock Creek Park, Washington, D. C. I recently had a brief talk with him and gave him my 3000-word illustrated Centennial pamphlet. What the effect will be I don't know.

■

**SO THAT** every Negro could buy a copy and give it to some white person—the only way to get the truth over—I fixed the price at only 20 cents for 2; $6 for 100; $55 for 1,000, postpaid.

The response from individuals has been fairly good. I recently mentioned the few organizations that did. Two more recent ones are the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Mrs. Rosa Gragg, president; and the Oddfellows of York, Pa., James G. Cooper, organizer.

They took 1,000 each. Also the Emma Lazarus Federation (Jewish). The Jewish Cultural Society is also using it in their classes. Please write me c/o The Courier, 15 W. 125th St., New York, N. Y.

# History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

VIRGINIA has come up with something new towards better race relations.

Though you're black, you will be white! The jim-crow sign will be hauled in for you—except if you're an American citizen.



Mr. Rogers

This all comes as the result of a plea to the State Department, which is tired of apologizing to African states for refusal to serve their officials. You'll recall that some three years Indian official and K. Gbedamah of Ghana were refused service in Florida. Gbedamah was later dined at the White House.

Since then there have been many such incidents. The latest is that to Dr. William Fitzjohn, Sierra Leone official, in a Howard Johnson restaurant in Maryland. Dr. Fitzjohn, who lived several years in the USA, and is a Ph. D. from Columbia, said he selected a Howard Johnson restaurant because he heard Negroes were served there.

■

**THOUGH HE** was "emotionally upset" and it "was just the kind of thing I wanted to avoid," he made no official protest.

His country was still under British rule and did not become independent until April 27.

But he told his Pittsburgh hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Kline of it. Mrs. Kline knew him well. Sister of Senator Wayne Morse, she had spent a year in Sierra Leone as a Fulbright scholar. She reported to the State Department, who sent officials . . . in person . . . to apologize to Dr. Fitzjohn.

■

**PRESIDENT KENNEDY** followed that up with a letter to the Governors of the jim-crow states, saying that such conduct is a disservice to the nation and has received "adverse attention in the world's press."

Governor Almond of Virginia, whereupon suggested to Kennedy that the Africans and other dark-skinned officials carry special papers that will "clearly identify themselves when seeking service in any establishments."

That is, to prove they aren't U. S. citizens!

■

**MORE ON** the Negro putting Kennedy in. And this time more direct. It's from James A. Michener, noted author of "South Pacific," and a Kennedy county chairman. He says in the feature article of Look Magazine, May 9, that after the sentencing of Dr. King on Oct. 25, "intelligent Republican strategists, seeing a chance to torpedo the Democratic position, drafted a statement to President Eisenhower to read on television, pointing out its injustice and saying,

"Accordingly, I have asked the Attorney-General to take all proper steps to join with Dr. Martin Luther King in an appropriate application for his release.

"For some reason," says Michener, "this striking statement, which could have won the Negroes of the North to Nixon, was never issued. The great, strong voice that should have spoken out and won the election remained silent.

"On the other hand," John Kennedy took the risk and did the gallant thing. He decried the blatant abuse of a Negro's civil liberties and had the courage to phone King and say so.

"In doing this, he did not lose Georgia or South Carolina or Texas. Instead, he won the Negro vote in New York, and Chicago and Philadelphia—and the Presidency."

A choice morsel indeed for the historian!

# History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

THE ICC ORDER banning jim crow on interstate buses, waiting-rooms, and restaurants is a substantial victory for the Freedom Riders. But what everyone who believes in good government wants to know is this: Why did the Federal Goverment which now shows it had the power to act), let this evil drag on so long?



Mr. Rogers

Why did it continue to permit the mobbing, beating, harassing and imprisonment of Negroes who were perfectly within their rights?

Why did it permit Southern mobsters and their tools—the judges—to give this country such a bad name, not only among the colored peoples of Asia, Africa and the rest of the New World, but of fair-minded whites in all lands? Now that we are almost at war with Russia, why do we have to give her so much help with her propaganda? And Castro, too?

Yes, the question is why?

■

**AS THE N. Y. TIMES** says editorially: Even amid the present gratification of the new ICC decision the question must remain as to why policy ignored reality so long . . . "This nation should have the simple aim" . . . in the Attorney's-General words: 'A Negro passenger is free to travel the length and breadth of this country in the same manner as any other passenger'."

Why then the delay? The answer is evident. As long as only Negroes and a few white students were the victims, mobs and mobbist judges were given a free hand. Then 10 prominent whites, Northern Episcopalian ministers, among them the son-in-law of Governor Rockefeller of New York, Rev. Robert L. Pierson, joined in. They were arrested and thrown into jail Southern mobbery had gone too far.

Uncle Sam stepped in and called a halt. Later, 28 other Episcopalian ministers, nearly all white, joined in.

■

**HOW WERE** these important whites treated? Rockefeller's son-in-law said, "Exceptionally well. We have no complaints at all about the jail." Compare this with the brutal treatment of the Negro Freedom Riders, especially of girls. With the 10 white ministers were three Negro clerics. These latter also received "white" service.

All this adds up to increasing lack of faith of the Negro in the Federal Government. There is hardly an evil suffered by Negroes that could not be stopped in like manner by the Constitution.

But the truth is that when it comes to collecting taxes the Government is color-blind; when it comes to giving Negroes returns from such money taken from them—it isn't.

■

**THE U. S. HAS** made enemies among the colonial powers by its denunciation of colonialism. But it has colonialism, too—a relic of slavery. The sole difference is, these powers have their coolness outside their own borders, while America's is within hers.

What else but colonialism is the treatment of the Negro in the South?

The Freedom Riders have scored. Again is proved the old saying: "It's the creaking wheel that gets greased." But there is much to be done. They'll have to see that the new ruling is enforced.

# History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

DR. JAMES B. CONANT'S attack on integration in the schools of large Northern cities goes far beyond any racial or local condition. It's an attack on an urge as old as humanity itself.

When a Negro youth leaves a poorer school in his neighborhood for a better one in the white neighborhood, it is the same urge that has made humanity, over the ages, leave countries and localities for better ones. America owes a lot to this. Why should the Negro be blamed for having a spirit so much admired in the rest of humanity?



Mr. Rogers

**THE PRINCIPAL** cause of segregation in cities like New York and Chicago is economic. Negro income is smaller than white's. And Negro unemployment greater. A European immigrant, thanks to his white skin, has opportunities here that Negroes have not been able to win in 400 years.

Let's say that in this country there is a Nazi who killed a thousand Americans, and on the other hand, a Negro who saved a thousand. Which has the greater freedom to come, to go, to live where he can? Would the Nazi be arrested for disturbing the peace if he asked for service in a lunch room?

The aspiring Negro youth has to drag along with him a degradation inherited from some 300 years of slavery, plus a century of persecution and odium greater than any other people in history.

In "Sinbad the Sailor," you read of the Old Man of the Sea who sat on Sinbad's shoulder wherever he went, whatever he did. This race problem is a similar burden for Negro youth, be the school integrated or segregated.

■

**THE POSITION** of Negro youth, as compared with white youth, is like that of two men who take an elevator to go to the top. One, the Negro, is carried instead to the basement, where he has a devil of a time finding his way out. If he ever does.

Dr. Conant points out the menace to the nation in this situation: "The building up of a mass of unemployed and frustrated Negro youth in the congested areas of a city is a social phenomenon that may be compared to the piling up of inflammable material in an empty building in a city block. Potentialities for trouble . . . indeed possibilities of disaster . . . are there, surely."

Were this country run intelligently and humanely, it would do for the Negro what it has been doing for the economic conditions of lands as far away as Vietnam. There $500,000,000 was proposed, and I think voted, recently, for South America. Why not money for the solution of this troublesome problem here? Wipe out the Negro ghettos; start a program of understanding and goodwill, create openings, then brighten prospects.

■

**THE NEGRO** has shown himself highly deserving. He has come up out of 400 years of the toughest time any people ever had. He has helped immensely, too, in making this the greatest nation on earth. Furthermore, his improvement means the bettering not only of himself, but of the white people. Of all America!

Let's not see it as a race problem; or one of percentages. If the Negro has a higher percentage of crime and juvenile delinquency, the whites, who outnumber him, ten to one, have the far greater actual volume. Where, then, lies the greater menace to the nation?

# History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

The Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.
Feb 25 1961

I HAD a wonderful time Negro History Week. Met many fine enthusiastic groups and individuals and aspiring young people. Everywhere I went there was warm hospitality. At Springfield, Mass., I was guest at the annual dinner in honor of Richard Allen, founder and first Bishop of the AME Church, at Bethel AME Church. Cooked and served by the ladies of the church it was excellent. And the pastor, Rev. Thomas W. Foster, one of the wittiest men I've met, kept us in frequent outbursts of laughter. Among those present were the two Negro Councilmen of the city: W. Robert McDonald and William A. Grant; also Rev. Petty D. McKinney, pastor of the AME Zion; Ernest J. Henderson; and other prominent citizens, colored and white. The young folks took charge of the sale of my books and Centennial pamphlet and did very well, too.



Mr. Rogers

■

**ON SUNDAY** morning the choir gave well-rendered selections and I gave the annual address on Richard Allen, born 1760 who was an important figure of his day especially in Philadelphia. In the evening a full audience came out for the talk on Negro history. Rev. Foster has inspired his congregation with his own enthusiasm for it. When you teach a people to respect themselves and to hold up their heads you're also doing God's work, he says.

At St. Albans, New York, where I was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Mair, I spoke for the Community Club for Civic Improvement, composed mostly of home owners, where I found the same warm interest.

At Wyandanch, New York, I spoke for the Suffolk Cooperative Association, at the Community Church of the Nazarene, Rev. W. Eugene Hazard, pastor. Here again the audience showed the liveliest interest in the subject. Joseph Guinn, of whom I was the guest, is president of the Co-Op which is made of home-owners of Suffolk County, I saw some fine homes, several of which had several acres of land. The 15,000 Negroes of Suffolk County are engaged chiefly in hospitals and defense work.

■

**I ALSO** had the pleasure of meeting some old friends, two of whom I once worked with on the Amsterdam News—Lillian Walcott, now Mrs. Guinn, and Louis Garcia. Both are now as much interested in Negro progress as they were then. Alphonse Seibenhoven was master of ceremonies.

Looking back over the years, it is quite gratifying to see the part that history has played in the Negro's discovery of himself—the first step towards the developing of a people or an individual.

# History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

The Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.
Feb 25 1961

ARTICLES in the New York Times, Feb. 18-19, give the impression that African envoys to the UN and the USA do not think too highly of American Negroes in general.

"They feel American Negroes have an inferiority complex and accept a second position in society."



Mr. Rogers

"On the other hand, "Africans look upon themselves as visiting foreigners who should be treated extremely well." Also they do not care to live in Harlem. "They do not feel safe there because the neighborhoods are run down," it is said.

One African ambassador was recently quoted as saying, "It took us five years to win our freedom. A hundred years and the American Negro hasn't his yet."

**I DON'T** blame the African envoys. They have international prestige and their duty is not only to maintain that, but to increase it.

What has the American Negro to offer them in this respect. Very little. He hasn't much prestige himself in his own estimation.

And all things considered, a too close association with the Negro here would lower the African in the eyes of white America. Blame the African if you will but, with positions reversed, the colored American would do the same. As for prestige abroad, the American Negro has even less than he has here.

You'll find many native Negroes who try to escape being what they are by wearing some strange dress, calling themselves Jews or Indians, or changing their names and the like . . . all in a pitiable attempt to acquire prestige.

**WHITE DICTUM** is, "Anything but an American Negro goes." A real dark friend of mine ordered off to a jim-crow car in the South, replied in Swedish and pretended he knew no English. The conductor ruled he was "no Negro," and let him remain. Similar incidents could be cited galore. After I left art school and was refused everywhere, I, at last found a place.

But the boss, in introducing me to his employes, called me, "The latest arrival from Cuba."

When I later told him I was not a Cuban, he said that was the only way to get me in. I read recently too, of a college in the South that has two Africans and other dark foreigners, but bars Negro Americans.

**ON HIS** visits here Nkrumah is given fullest honors and dined at the White House. But as a student living among Afro-Americans in Harlem he had a tough time.

Nkrumah and Ghana got prestige through vision and power. But the blacks of America have far more power than Ghana.

Again and again they have decided the course of this nation, the most powerful on earth. In the last election they put in Kennedy. Still they can't put in themselves. Of course, I know the causes.

# History Shows . . . .

By J. A. Rogers

I'VE BEEN saying that the Civil War Centennial means no good to the Negro even though Lincoln said no less than nine times that it was the Negro that provided the balance of power that "saved the Union," which, in turn, makes the Centennial possible.



Mr. Rogers

Early last year I quoted June Purcell Guild, white Southern author, who predicted (Crisis, Dec. 1959), that "Every gold ingot in Fort Knox may be safely wagered that the South "would turn the Centennial anti-Negro vilification campaign."

Now this is coming true. New Jersey has had to boycott the re-enactment of the attack on Fort Sumter, S. C., April 11-12, because one of its delegates, Mrs. Madaleine Williams, colored, former state legislator, will not be permitted to sit with other delegates nor stay at the same hotel.

■

**SENATOR CASE,** who protested to Governor Collins of South Carolina, was told not to meddle with "the customs of South Carolina." President Kennedy intervened.

He reminded the S. C. Commission that since the Federal Government was a sponsor of the affair there should be no jim crow. South Carolina replied in effect that the U. S. could go chase itself; that the state had amply provided for the affair and that no Federal funds would be used.

Which is true. Congress voted only $100,000 for all five years of the Centennial, while Southern states have been most lavish. For instance, Texas voted $2 million; Virginia, $1,600,000, and Mississippi, it is said, $1,500,000. These states hope to recoup from the huge tourist traffic as nearly all the battlefields are down there. (See Life's sixth article on the Centennial, March 17).

New York, expecting no business on this, voted only $10,000

**ALSO, AS** I said, the Centennial is being used as a huge glorification of the Confederacy and its fight for slavery, as well as to offset the fight Southern Negro youth is making against injustice. Still worse, most of the next two years will be those of Confederate victories.

Take the battle of Bull Run where Union men ran from the Confederates like frightened rabbits. How Ku Kluxers and other enemies of the Negro will gloat on its re-enactment.

Worst of all is that the patriotism of Northern whites is being used to fortify the evil deeds of white mobs and White Citizens' Councils.

I have before me the massive Mural Map ($1.50) "produced in cooperation" with the National Commission. In the centre the U. S. flag and the Confederate one are side by side with Lincoln and Jefferson on either side of them. Incredible that those who fought for slavery should be so honored now!

■

**LINCOLN'S STATEMENTS** on the Negro's role in the war makes it clear that the Negro

# History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

Facts are stubborn things; comparisons are odious; the use of either is often resented.

But here goes. The census of 1860 gave 4,441,830 Negroes; that of 1960 18,871,281 — over four times as many in 100 years. But in that period millions of light Negroes have been absorbed by the whites.



Mr. Rogers

The Ohio Journal of Science, June, 1958, estimated that there are now over 28,000,000 whites with some Negro strain.

But even with the 1960 figure what do we find? That the American Negro outnumbers in population some 35 independent nations. Canada, for instance, has 16,980,791; Israel some 2,105,000. But, I'll take Europe which has the highest civilization.

■

**THERE ARE** some 18 European countries which have less people: Belgium, 9,104,000; Portugal, 9,052,000; Finland, 4,433,700; Irish Republic, 2,846,000; Austria, 7,049,000; Holland, 11,246,153. All these named are culturally far in advance of the American Negro.

When I consider the Scandinavian countries I find it still worse.

These, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, have a combined total of only 15,403,000 or 3,460,000 less than the Negro total. Note: I'm not basing my comparison on what I've read but what I've seen. Denmark, one of the finest I've ever seen in almost every way, has only 4,547,000 people.

■

**NOW, WHY** is the American Negro—with four times the population of Denmark and living in the richest country on earth, and the one with the most opportunity—surpassed by Denmark.

Race? That has been proved to be sheer nonsense. All so-called races have the same potentialities. All the countries above-named rose from the depths of savagery.

That the American Negro has the same potentialities as the white one has been amply proved again and again. Why is he so far behind?

Answer—While the independent countries have stepped out for themselves, the American Negro has been and is only a satellite of the whites. Worse, a tool.

■

**HE SAVED** the day in the Revolution; in the War of 1812, and the Civil War, each time being largely cast aside till needed again.

Another is the last election. A survey by the University of Michigan Research Center showed that Kennedy's religion cost him "about 1,500,000 votes." (New York Times, April 19). He won by only 272,886. Had Negroes voted against him to any extent, he'd have lost.

The first step towards a people's finding itself is a knowledge of its history.

Earlier Negro history was concocted by the slave master and the theologian. The whites still control what goes into the Negroe's mind, what he must read and think.

Little Denmark has publishing firms that pay royalties. The 19,000,000 Negroes have none. Their authors must rely on white publishers, who pick what they can sell to white readers.

The independent Negro thinker has no chance. What people ever got far with their thinkers so handicapped?

Is it any wonder that the only true equality the Negro has today is paying taxes and being drafted?

# History Shows

The Courier. 7-19

By J. A. Rogers

Start 7-22-61

LAST WEEK I told of an earlier kind of Freedom Riders—white women, who were beaten up by chivalrous white Americans, North and South, heavily fined and put in prison among criminals.

I cited Doris Stevens' "Jailed For Freedom" (1920), and especially the chapter, "Prison Episode." However, in 1918, the U. S. Court of Appeals ruled that the women were illegally arrested, that they should be freed and could sue for damages.



J. A. Rogers

These white women were agitating for the right to vote. The difference between them and the Freedom Riders is this: **The woman did not get that right until 1920 with the 19th Amendment, while the Negroes have the right of interstate travel. Some 12 years ago the Su**preme Court ruled that jim crow in interstate travel is illegal.

Therefore, if the courts ruled in favor of the white women who did not have the right; how much more ought they to do so in the case of the Freedom Riders, who are perfectly justified by U. S. law in acting as they do. Here is a case which sets a precedent in favor of the Freedom Riders.

■

**THE LATTER** are only doing what the Federal Government is neglecting. As an open letter to the New York Times says, "The Federal Government, which should be guaranteeing the rights of the Freedom Riders and protecting them from arrest on false charges, is turning its eyes away from the situation."

**As it is, private citizens of the poorest group have to pay for fighting injustice, when the central government has already taxed them for doing just that.**

Were our country not run with the intent of appeasing white racists, U. S. marshals would be with the Freedom Riders, seeing that U. S. laws are observed. **Freedom Riders are being forced into what they are doing because the law is too timid to assert itself.**

In England, where laws are impartially enforced, hoodlum-run states like Alabama and Mississippi would not get away with such glaring injustice.

The real reason is that, in the United States, color comes before citizenship. You are white or colored first, then American next.

■

**JUST AS** right-thinking Americans today are shocked to know what went on during slavery, how when the white masters and their sons had about used up all their sex energy on the slave women, they would invite white Northern college students to spend their vacations on the plantations to help them out—so will future Americans grieve to learn that the mere accident of color of skin should play so powerful a role now.

Speaking of woman suffrage, I was one of those delegated to speak to Negro women to get their support. Few wished to listen.

They were even more apathetic than many white women. Today, I find a similar apathy among Negroes in general on the Freedom Riders.

■

I must confess that the thing that hurts me most is the indifference of Negroes to their rights. And with so much power in their hands! They put Kennedy in office.

Leading white papers and magazines have said that. The latest is Life, July 7.

Slavery has been dead these hundred years . . . but its spirit of submission still remains very much alive among us!

# History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

MILLIONS of Negroes are sore that Kennedy won't have a Negro in his cabinet. This, too, after they clinched victory for him. But didn't he offer the Postmaster-Generalship to Congressman Dawson, a Negro, and he refused? Along with that, was it not common talk weeks before that Dawson would decline because he was 74 and in failing health; or that he preferred his present job, chairman of Government Operations Committee.



Mr. Rogers

Did Kennedy know beforehand that Dawson would refuse? Did he really mean to name a Negro? Well, take the case of Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, whom he selected as Treasurer of the United States. For the past three administrations this job has been given to a woman in recognition of her sex. Suppose she had refused, wouldn't he have asked another woman? Why not then in the case of the Negro? Was there no other capable one?

**ANSWER:** Prejudice against women holding office has largely been overcome. That against Negroes is still very active. The chairmanship of the most important congressional committees are held by determined Southern foes of the Negro, who, thanks to poll-tax and jim crow, are able to acquire seniority that keeps them in these posts. Senator Eastland, for instance, is head of the very powerful Judiciary Committee. Dawson, it is said, has been able to get along somehow with these Negro-hating lawmakers, but there would be a fight against him as the job would put Dawson over all the postmasters, nearly all of whom are white.

Thus, the chief blame lies on the system, not on Kennedy. I predict though, that Kennedy, like Lincoln, will become more and more of the politician and less and less of the humanitarian. That Dawson "offer" looked too political, at least to me. If Kennedy wants his bills passed, no matter what they are, he will have to play ball with the Negrophobes in his party. I still recall that disgraceful filibuster I saw in Congress last February when Eastland and others tied up business for six weeks.

■

**IN KENNEDY'S** cabinet will be two Jews. Now dislike for Jews in America goes much deeper than for the Negro. It is, however, not paleness of skin that saves the Jew. It is his wealth, his business, his morale, and that unity which he maintains in spite of those differences which exist in all peoples. Negroes outnumber Jews four to one. Perhaps they gave that proportion of votes to Kennedy. But in their case it's like the coal thrown on a furnace to keep up the heat; it ends in ashes. If they get any recognition now it will be some piddling one. They lack unity, financial prestige, and what they make eventually ends up in the pockets of the dominant "race."

Is there a remedy? I'll discuss that next week.

# History Shows

By J. A. Rogers

There's a book, "Why We Behave Like Human Beings." One, "Why We Behave Like Negroes" (or whatever we choose to call ourselves), would I feel be equally striking. And appropriate, too. This is "Negro History Week."

Now I've spent more than 40 years on the history of the Negro in America. I've still very much to learn but I picked up much, too. Easter Sunday coming, the Negro will have been in what is now the USA 449 years. When I consider what he has done since— the immense wealth he contributed in labor, his rescue of America in three crucial wars, his heroism, loyalty, his great musicians, singers, athletes, scientists, inventors, educators, religious leaders and the like. I'm simply astounded at the second and even third-class position he occupies. And of his generally low-rating by white America. And of himself, also.



Mr. Rogers

■

**WHY THIS?** The Africans brought to this country were total strangers to it. And since they spoke different languages there could be thirty on a plantation and each could not understand the other. Therefore there was positively nothing else to do but to adopt the white man's ways, his language, religion, modes of thought. One's brain is a camera and one's thinking is the photo. Thus the imported African, however black he remained without, became white within. Today, the darkest American is still largely a white American within. The sum of his environment shows in his facial expression. In Europe I could usually tell an American by that alone. So could street-vendors there.

Since the black American is white within, most also have the white's prejudice against color. In slavery days Africans already here would look down on newly arrived ones. In 1918 in Chicago I saw Northern Negroes despising Southern migrants. Quite a story could be told of inter-color prejudice, which, by the way, is true of most Negroes in the rest of the New World. "White" thinking has been the bane of the two Americans.

■

**ANOTHER FACT:** Since the Negro is forced into an inferior position—the back-door, the jim-crow entrance to life from birth, most are very thankful for small mercies. Look at the gush over present political appointments. It all reminds me of that chimpanzee shot into space. For his historic feat he was rewarded with an extra banana. And was he thankful! The only political job worthy of mention at this writing is that of Weaver. All the rest wouldn't be considered much by any foreign-born white group. I shall reserve my hurrahs for a Negro President or Vice-President and Cabinet and Supreme Court appointments. That is, when fairplay shall have triumphed.

Negroes will never come into their own until they have replaced "white" thinking by a broadly human one, As a man thinketh in his heart so is he. Into the "white" history they have been fed from childhood they must mix their own. And see to it the whites by this learn to think human, too. Then and only then will the darker American find himself and work together to reach that place in the nation which he has earned.

# History Shows

By J. A. ROGERS

TO CONTINUE from last week, Morris U. Schappes in "Jewish Currents" rightly warns the nation that the legal result of the Civil War Centennial will be to increase the mob spirit such as seen, recently, in New Orleans and Athens.

"The old Confederates," he says, "are today as aggressive as their ancestors a century ago," therefore, "democratic American forces of all kinds have their tasks cut out for them to change the character of the Centennial."



Mr. Rogers

And, believe it or not, the National Commission, itself, works to foster the mob spirit. The purpose behind it all is to unite North and South, that is, the whites, more closely. No distinction, whatever, is made between those who fought for slavery and those who fought against it. Both are being called "men who valued principle above life itself." Robert E. Lee, into whom many a Union soldier would have loved to have plunged a bayonet, now is hailed as "a peerless leader." On his birthday, Jan. 19, there was so much praise of him, even in Northern papers, one would fancy he, not Grant, was the real hero of the war.

**MR. SCHAPPES** points out, also, that both the Presidential Proclamation and the Centennial bulletins ignore not only slavery, but the Negro's very important role in the war, which role, as Lincoln said, very positively ten times at least, saved the Union. And, there's not a Negro on the National Commission, he says. Just as well. Mention of the Negro's role would foul up the goal of the Centennial.

Big business would be hurt, also. Most of the enactments will take place in the South, where even poor states, as Mississipol are voting millions for it, compared with thousands voted even by rich Northern states, as New York. The affair, says the Centennial bulletin, will bring the greatest history of travel in the U. S. And how shameful Union defeats, like Bull's Run, will encourage the Ku Klux Klan and make enemies of the Negro feel that slavery was right. And so is jim crow, now.

What are Negroes going to do about this? Very, very little it looks, so far. The Jews, who had only 6,500 troops in the Union Army, have a fine Centennial exhibit of 150 pieces in New York City. It will move to Washington, D.C., Feb. 23. Negroes, enlisted and unenlisted, in that army could not have been less than 500,000. What have they? As usual, in such very vital matters: NOTHING!

**I MENTION,** again, my Centennial pamphlet, in which everyone can do something. It is two copies, 20 cents; 12, $1; $6 per 100, and $55 per 1,000. Write me, c/o The Courier, 15 West 125th St., New York City.

# History Shows . . .

By J. A. Rogers

I'VE BEEN saying, and quoting from white writers such as June Purcell Guild and Morris U. Schappes, that the Civil War Centennial will sum up to an anti-Negro affair. Already it is so. Feb. 18 at Montgomery, Ala., was re-enacted the swearing in of Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederacy. Who represented Davis? An anti-Negro lawyer, T. B. Hill. And who swore him in? Judge Walter B. Jones. The same who fined the New York Times and four Negro ministers $500,000 for slandering (?) Alabama. Jones ruled it was perfectly proper for the prosecution to call the ministers "n--g--rs", since it is a Southern custom. He also ordered the seizure of the Negro defendants' property and cars. By all accounts the Montgomery re-enactment was a triumph for the Ku Klux and other enemies of the Negro.



Mr. Rogers

The New York chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy had their celebration at the New York Historical Society, with 400 present. While not openly anti-Negro the very way the Centennial is being run made it so. The same day I went to a Negro Centennial call at the Hotel Theresa. Audience very small but gives promise of growth.

■

**FROM THERE** I went to the New Yorker, where I had been invited to speak to the New York branch of the Emma Lazarus Federation, Jewish (Emma Lazarus wrote the inscription on the Statue of Liberty). The hall was full, with people standing. And the protest against the way the Centennial is being run was firm. And RIGHT. Mr. Schappes told of official posters where the rebel flag and that of the United States are intertwined. He said also that the eight other Jewish societies who are sponsoring the Centennial and now have an exhibit in New York are following the official pattern not seeming to realize that it was the defeat of the Confederacy that made it possible for millions of immigrants, including Jews, to enjoy the freedom they now do here. Mr. Schappes told me to bring my Centennial pamphlets. As I have no luck with my literature with white audiences I took only 56 but I should have taken hundreds.

I'm hearing that Negroes are ignoring the Centennial because it deals with slavery. Inexcusable ignorance! Slavery, yes—a fight between whites of the North and those of the South over who should get the lion's share of the profits from it.

■

**THE ORIGINAL** 13th Amendment signed by Buchanan in 1860 had made slavery perpetual in the United States. Lincoln in his inaugural, said he had no intention of interfering with slavery where it exists. Many times during the war the North offered to let the South keep its slaves if it would stop fighting. The South refused. Negroes then, brought in by Lincoln, defeated the South, according to Lincoln. In short, it was the Negroes' strong right arm, not Lincoln's Proclamation, that freed himself. Is not that cause for celebration?

# History Shows . . .

By J. A. Rogers

THE SUPERB triumph of Leontyne Price in what is considered the very height of the cultural achievement of the white Western world, Grand Opera—again proves that where sheer merit is concerned persons of Negro ancestry can and do reach there too. Miss Price was given one of the greatest ovations ever witnessed in the Metropolitan Opera House, New York—one of 35 minutes. Winthrop Sargent of the New Yorker said of her: "A full-fledged diva in the grand manner comparable to the finest dramatic sopranos who have ever starred at the Metropolitan within the memory of anyone living."



Mr. Rogers

She had received similar ovations in Europe, one of them at La Scala of Milan, most famous opera house in the world, and which is said to have the most critical of all audiences. One critic there said of her Aida: "Our great Verdi would have found her the ideal Aida."

■

**NOW WHAT** Marian Anderson, Mattiwilda Dobbs, and Robert McFerrin have achieved in opera has also been won by sheer merit by Negroes in such fields as sports, acting, amusement, music, art, architecture, and medicine.

There is one field, however, in which they have made very little headway — government. Though they are generally further advanced than Negroes in every other part of the world, they are behind them in this, except in such places as South Africa. I knew one black man in France who was prefect of a department, equivalent to governor of a state in the USA. I knew four Cabinet ministers, also the present president of the French Senate, equivalent to the Vice Presidency here. In Morocco I saw Glaoui Pasha, who was very dark and was said to be more powerful than the Sultan. The latter was, himself, Negroid, as was his uncle. Mohammed Naguib, first president of Egypt, is a mulatto. And so is Nasser.

Latin-American lands with a minority of Negroes as Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina, Peru, and Guatemala have had Negro presidents. Brazil had at least one, Nilo Pecanha.

■

**DURING** Reconstruction the American Negro was making splendid headway in the field of government. There were four lieutenant-governors, one in South Carolina; one in Mississippi, who acted as governor for a short time, and two in Louisiana, one of whom was governor for 43 days. Then came the Tilden-Hayes sell-out and the withdrawal of Federal troops, leaving the Negroes to be harassed by the Ku Klux Klan and former rebels like Ben Tillman who used to stump the country yelling for more lynching. In short, it is certainly not lack of ability that has kept Negroes out of government. The two US Senators of Reconstruction, Hiram Revels and Blanche K. Bruce, were quite as capable as the Presidents of their time.

# History Shows . . .

By J. A. Rogers

I HADN'T INTENDED to say anything about the inauguration. I had seen or lived through more than a few and like them it was in the strictly official part of it, the swearing-in, of Americans of only one color though the American people are of many varied complexions. I thought of Grant's inauguration where Frederick Douglass as Marshal of the District of Columbia officiated and rode at the head of the procession that took Grant to the Capitol. In the start from the White House in this case the only Negroes I saw were those opening doors.



Mr. Rogers

■

**WHY DO I WRITE** this? It's a promise to an old friend of mine I ran into the next day. He's an American who has lived in France many years and is just recently from there. He said of the inauguration, "It's the same good old U.S.A. Only palefaces at an affair like that! And after the Negroes elected Kennedy!" He added that at DeGaulle's inauguration several Negroes were with him, two of whom were his Secretary of State, Houphuet-Boigny, a jet-black African, and Gaston Monnerville, President of the French Senate, a post equivalent to the Vice Presidency here. He thought the appearance of Marian Anderson was a sop to the Negroes. "Watch dumb darkies eat that up," he laughed acidly. Still later, on a Harlem street, I heard Negroes denouncing Marian Anderson. "It was a jim-crow affair," said one. "If she respected her race she wouldn't have sung there."

Kennedy's address was full of high resolution and has been widely hailed. But here again I remembered other presidential addresses that sounded just as high; and their aftermath. I thought of the great words of Woodrow Wilson, and then of the crew of jim-crowers he brought in with him to run the Government offices; and how when William Monroe Trotter spoke up to him as a man against it he walked out on Trotter. Comparing words with deeds Emerson said: "Don't tell me who you are; what you are speaks so loud I can't hear you." In the case of Mr. Kennedy I'm hoping to be shown.

■

**AS REGARDS** the speech itself, it seemed to me more literary than heartfelt. It did not strike me with the force of the Gettysburg address, Pitt's reply to Walpole, or Patrick Henry's "give me liberty or give me death." Parts of it were too familiar. "The torch passed to a new generation" comes from a World War I poem, "In Flanders Field," that once impressed me greatly. That about riding the tiger comes from "The Lady From Niger," a limerick, and is overworked.

"My fellow-Americans: ask not what America will do for you—ask what you can do for your country." That gave me a good laugh. It made me think of certain politicians in Congress from you know where.

# History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

THE SIGN against jim crow, even on Mississippi buses, is proof that segregation is on the way out. But the greater good (equality of opportunity) is still a way off because most whites, even in the North, who are not violently against Negroes, are not for it. They are what Professor Pettigrew of Harvard calls "the gentle people of prejudice who have strong doubts about racial equality."



Mr. Rogers

The worst thing about it is such "gentle folk" are often honest and sincere in their belief. They are the product of 300 years of lies and myths about the Negro. One racist recently wrote the Afro-American, "The man or woman of Negro ancestry though a century removed will suddenly breed back a pure Negro child, kinky-haired, flat-nosed, thick-lipped, black-skinned. One drop of Negro blood in your family could push it back 3,000 years in history."

This myth, less crudely expressed, is at the bottom of the mind of the white "moderate." He can't help it. It has been dinned into him and, perhaps, he has never seen anything to the contrary. To him it is sound American doctrine. Besides it is so good to have some group to look down on; to feel that—thanks to your epidermis—you can do things and go places one with a darker skin cannot. Yes, color-prejudice gives quite a "lift" to millions.

**WHAT'S THE** solution? One most advocated is building Negro business. Very good. But since the whites dominate economically, money earned by Negroes eventually drift to them as rivers run to the sea.

In Harlem, for instance, where most businesses are white, Negroes have displaced white employes even in the banks. Where do the profits go?

The real solution, as I have long seen it, is to change the image of the Negro in the white mind. As a man thinketh in his heart so is he. History is full of examples of change in popular trends of thought. Once, women—white women—were regarded worse than Negroes. Hatred against woman was taught me as a child. I was told that Eve ate an apple and brought sin into the world. Seneca, liberal Roman, wrote: "The leader of all wickedness is woman." And Menander: "There is nothing worse in the world than a woman be she ever so good." One proverb ran: "A nut, a donkey and a woman need the whip." The early Christian church regarded woman as inferior.

As late as 1918, white American women who wanted equality—the vote—were treated as Freedom Riders now are. In England, they fared even worse. The curse that God is said to have placed on women, like that Noah placed on Ham, was no more.

■

**THE NEGRO** must therefore

# History Shows By J. A. Rogers

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS, in joining the Communist party thinks communism is "the best system."

Many will remember when he wouldn't have said that. It is the result of a "long and slow decision" he says, himself. When America went into World War I, he so strongly advocated unity, that some leaders criticized him.



Mr. Rogers

In a Crisis editorial he told Negroes: "Let us, while the war is on, forget our grievances."

Later he went on a US mission to Liberia.

■

**ONE OF** the founders of the NAACP, he has been in the forefront of the fight for 70 years. At 93, with his mind still active, he has seen that his long years of labor has not brought what he worked for; that American democracy is largely a failure when it comes to color of skin.

For instance, here's some of what was happening about the time he joined:

Hunger strikers in jail were charged with trespassing because they entered a lunchroom; a troupe of dancers from India cancelling their engagements, when refused service in North Carolina, and the report of the Civil Rights Commission telling of cruelties to Negroes, one of whom, James Brazier, was fatally beaten by a white policeman in Dawson, Ga., while his 10-year-old son pleaded for him.

The policeman was jealous because Brazier could buy "new cars while we (white people) can't hardly live." He half-dragged Brazier from his car, slammed the door on his legs, threw a hatful of sand on his bloodied face, and kicked him in the groin. Brazier died—his murderer went free.

■

**THE PRESENCE** of DuBois and the handful of Negroes in the Communist party is nothing compared with the damage America is doing herself with atrocities like the above. What Russia is doing to the air wth her megaton bombs. America is doing to the moral atmosphere. Worse, she is making herself ridiculous.

The State Department has to apologize for its hoodlums. It had to apologize to Africans, and now to the Indian dancers. What will be the effect of that story in India, which America is now wooing.

This is the second time it has had to apologize to India. And what ammunition for Russia, Castro and other enemies of America! With power shifting into the hands of the darker races, all of this means no good for America in the not too distant future.

■

**WHAT IS MOST** astounding is that the Federal Government, so mighty in other spheres, seems powerless when it comes to dealing with Ku Kluxers, White Citizens Councils and the like. Any new law against their activities is successfully countered by some tricky "states righ's" theory.

Those who would enforce Supreme Court rulings are called "Communists," as Eisenhower and Chief Justice Warren were.

If after 70 years of fighting DuBois sees the old injustice triumphant, he can hardly be blamed if he feels it's time for a change. To those who stand for full equality, the present order at times seems futile no matter how much faith they'd like to have in it.

# History Shows . . . . . By J. A. Rogers

A GIRLISH-LOOKING Queen of England and a black President of an African republic stand side by side in Africa to the gaze of the world. What does that signify? To white South Africa it will be the last word in degradation. To millions of Americans it will be a blow to their bugaaboo — social equality.



Mr. Rogers

What does it mean to you, and you, and you? I see it as the same thing that started color prejudice is now working against it, namely, making money . . . economic.

Why did the white powers go into Africa in the 15th Century? Why did they bring some 20 million Africans to the New World in 300 years? To hear many tell it, it was to save their souls and land them in heaven. But the real reason was to use Africa's wealth to enrich themselves.

The chief of these were Spain, Portugal and England. Karl Marx rightly said, "The population and wealth of England after slumbering for 700 years began to develop itself under the influence of slave-acquired capital."

**THE QUEEN OF** England was sent to Africa to build better business relations. And England, more than any of the big nations, needs trade. The 52 million people of Britain simply could not exist without trade, any more than a big department storie in a city could without customers.

Africa, with its vast untapped riches is, today, England's chief hope even as America was in the early 18th century. But there's this great difference now: while England had to bring Africans to develop her American colonies, Africans are already there to develop their own lands.

The USA needs Africa, too. Two centuries ago America was also a land of untapped wealth, but three wars in this century have greatly depleted her natural resources. She must import much now and Africa has most of what she needs in vital industry. In short, the standing of Elizabeth and Nkrumah side by side foreshadows the economic equality of Africa with the white powers.

■

**THE 27 AFRICAN** nations in the United Nations are going to strengthen this, also. The anti-Communist powers need their friendship. Says the New York Times, "Holding a decisive balance of power between the Communist bloc and the West, the Afro-Asians this year have been getting whatever they want—including the unprecedented General Assembly censure of South Africa earlier this month for a racist speech by Foreign Minister Henrik Louw."

The rise of the African nations is also having a beneficial effect on the race problem here. The State Department is being forced to see that African diplomats are not jim crowed. Four so treated were invited to the White House for dinner.

Eating places on the route to Washington through Maryland were recently appealed to by the Administration to stop jim crow.

About 60 A.D., Pliny, Roman historian, quoted this ancient Greek saying, "Out of Africa comes something always new." That's still true.

# History Shows . . . 31a Negro

By J. A. Rogers

THE Courier, I see, is sponsoring a "Friendship Tour" Europe with a tim pay an. Very good. In this age young thinking, European avel is the best cure I know r that "not-going-where-you-en't-wanted" feeling built to many Ne-roes to ame them rom participating fully the nation-life. They'll e that in urope, the nly "white an's" land, at "race" so ighty in merica ounts for othing unless he goes to a olely to white Americans. It ll reminds me of the elephant hat Thurston, the magician, sed to make disappear with wave of his hand. The only uropean country I saw with olor prejudice was England nd that was vastly less than n the U. S. A.



Mr. Rogers

**EUROPEANS** who wish to visit America must state their "race." Since up to then they had only to state nationality, they will say "Latin" or "North European" instead of "white" or "Caucasian." Some taking "race" (as they know it), write skiier, jockey, or sprinter. Yes, somebody awfully dumb. Either those poor Europeans or we.

Travel in Europe has done very much for me, the more so as American culture stems more directly from there. The sight of Shakespeare's home, the tomb of Napoleon, and the homes and monuments of the three great Dumas' and other places gave a thrilling climax to what I had read of them. Shakespeare, I think, said, "Pour your purse into your head." Money is never better spent than when used to increase information.

**NEGROES MUST** get out more into the life of this nation. And the world one, too. Go only where you're wanted and you're in a rut. No so-called race has gone more where it wasn't wanted than the white. That's why starting from the very bottom it went to the top. I'm a member of several top-notch societies which to me are only incidentally white. I go there, first of all for knowledge, and never stop to think what others might be thinking of me. However, I'm always courteously received. But I rarely ever see another Negro at such gatherings. Sometimes none at all. The last week in December the American Association for the Advancement of Science had its annual convention in New York City. Present were hundreds of leading scientists and thinkers and exhibits with the latest in science in many fields. In the six days I saw less than four Negroes and at the big smoker only two. Japanese and Chinese were fairly plentiful.

Take this European trip by all means, and give yourself a complete rest from the color-line. You'll also see that a Negro in America has much better opportunities than the average European, hence more will be expected of him.

# History Shows

The Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. 31a Negro

Sat. 4-22-61

By J. A. Rogers

**RUSSIA'S FEAT** of putting a man in space, bringing him back to earth alive, and having him broadcast from up there, eclipses everything done so far on this earth.

The very nearest to it is in the infantile imagination of the ancients. The Greeks had a Phaeton to ride with the sun; the Arabians the magic carpet of Bagdad, and in the Bible, Elijah is taken alive to heaven in a chariot of fire.



Mr. Rogers

Russia's success reminds me of a recent prediction in an open letter to one daily, namely, that "every informed American knows that capitalism is dead" "and that socialism as practiced in Russia "is inevitable."

An over-statement, of course, but change is inevitable. What really happens is that rival systems modify one another. As the Reformation made religion more humane, so is socialism going to make capitalism.

■

**NOW, RUSSIA** is America's rival and a very powerful one, too. What happens when two rivals prepare for a race?

The more sensible one rids himself of all useless impediments. America, in her race with Russia, has two such principal dead-weights. First and foremost is the question of whether the pale skin of certain citizens is not superior to others of a darker one.

When I consider what America is up against, I stand amazed at this stupidity; the waste of time in discussing and fighting it.

■

**STUDENTS** who ought to spend their time learning how to compete with Russia, are having their minds diverted to this nonsense.

National attention is focused on the story of savage dogs being used to keep Negroes out of a library, all of which takes one to slavery days, when, in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," bloodhounds are pursuing Eliza, baby in her arms.

Think, too, how we are torn with dispute over the Centennial, all because of color. Khrushchev said Russia would "bury" America. It's not impossible. America has a disease: racism. She could be her own undertaker. With men now in space, Russia could drop bombs on us at will.

And America's color dispute hurts her even more abroad.

■

**THINK** what it would mean if white America were suddenly to be relieved of this cancer of the mind! And what the 20,000,000 persons of color could contribute constructively!

The Negro has been second to none in the building of this nation from the very start. And under immense handicaps, too.

Few whites can begin to realize what an aspiring Negro is up against—the daily frustrations and worst of all the hurt to his sensibilities.

# History Shows . . . By J. A. Rogers

THE BEST laid plans of mice and men often go awry, wrote Robert Burns.

An example of that is happening right now—and on a national scale. In 1959, Congress set up a Civil War Centennial Commission.



Mr. Rogers

At once, leading Northern magazines, dailies, leaders, and historians saw an opportunity to heal the centuries - old breach between whites people, North South, and started a buttering-up of the Confederacy. In spite of a four years' war that the South started with all its horrible slaughter and cruelty, those who fought for slavery and those who fought to end it were classed alike.

Both were fine gentlemen, heroic, inspired by self-sacrifice and the best American traditions, it was claimed.

**EISENHOWER TOOK** the occasion to praise Lee very highly —Lee, an officer in the U. S. Army, who said while he had sworn loyalty to the United States, yet Virginia was his birthplace. It held all that he held dear, and he would fight for it in preference. Suppose Sen. Byrd, another great foe of the Negro, and patriotic Virginian, were to say that now, how would he be regarded?)

Gen. U. S. Grant III, whose grandfather had such a tough time in that war also sees no difference between Union soldier and rebel one.

Indeed! The Constitution of the Confederacy, said," Our new government is founded on slavery . . . its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the Negro is not the equal of the white man." Are we to take it that the General regards slavery more respectable today?

■

**NOW AFTER** all this propaganda in favor of Ku Klux, White Citizens' Councils, and the jim-crowers, what has happened? A split in observing the first big event of the war.

The U. S. is to hold its affair on federal property where there'll be no jim-crow: South Carolina where there will be jim-crow. The N. Y. Daily News very rightly describes it:

"CIVIL WAR II . . . THE NORTH SECEDES . . . GRANT SURRENDERS." And the split is going to be worse if Kennedy continues to stand firm.

But although this propaganda aimed at knitting white Southerner and white Northerner more closely has failed so far the Negro still has to face his enemies in both camps. When it comes to fullest citizenship rights, the Northdiffers very little from the South.

What are Negroes going to do about this Centennial? Are they just going to be the ball in the game? Or will they be a batter? So far they have shown very little interest in it though in reality they are the stars of the show.

Will the fact that President Kennedy and the white press have given so much publicity to it arouse our leaders—our churches, lodges, press, etc. Please follow this next week.

I shall have more to say on Gen. U. S. Grant, III.

# History Shows . . . By J. A. Rogers

UTYOSOV, Russian music expert, is being ridiculed by Negroes and whites because he said that Jazz originated in that region of the Black Sea about Odessa, Russia. But it could be that the laugh is on Utyosov's critics.



Mr. Rogers

Jazz is definitely conceded to be of Negro origin and Negroes were living in that part of Russia thousands of years before they were slaves in America. Herodotus, who traveled in that region about 450 B. C., says the people had black skins and wooly hair."

In 1887, a French explorer, Ernest Chantre, said the same of them.

Two of the most noted writers on antiquity (white), Jacob Bryant and Gerald Massey, prove that they were the original Caucasians, (natives of the Caucasus) and give abundant information of how they once ruled there. Negroes are still in this part of Russia. I give pictures of them and also the historical sources in my "Sex and Race," Vol. 3, pp. 89, 91, 290,291. (By the way, this book is again in print: $4.50.)

■

**A RECENT** Soviet exhibit in New York had pictures of these blacks.

Speaking of Russia, I'm reminded how American racists who bellyache about Communists, and will call those who stand for civil rights, Communists, are being Russia's best friends here.

Take that recent outburst of Negroes at the United Nations. What's at the bottom of it? Injustice to Negroes. But for that the so-called Negro would be just another American citizen.

Now Russia is the biggest enemy of the UN. Think what great encouragement that outburst will give to all Communist lands and sympathizers. It is being used to prove there that Negroes as a body are against the U. N. And the effect on the UN in the Congo! And with international ill-will against America increasing in Europe and Latin-America, too.

■

**AS ONE** who would like to see Americans of differing complexions live in peace and harmony, I deplore that outburst at the UN.

But I see that as long as those in power drag their feet on civil rights that it is as necessary a warning as when the body cries out in pain against disease.

■

**HISTORY SHOWS** it is. Take the most hated man in America after his raid on Harper's Ferry. And the most praised, his captor Robert E. Lee. They howled for Brown's blood and got it.

But later, most of the very same ones made Brown a hero and a saint and hated Lee like the devil. For the same reason I can't join in the condemnation of those Negroes at the UN.

# Views and Reviews . . . .

By George S. Schuyler

NEW YORK CITY has long been noted for its so-called radicalism, which has consisted chiefly of loudly expounded schemes to revolutionize society along Socialist-Communist lines, thus supposedly going to the roots of all problems.



M Schuyler

On some of the main street corners of Harlem ignoramuses on ladders have long made the welkin ring with current crackpotteries ranging from anarchism to Garveyism and so-called African Nationalism.

This has long been more colorful and confusing than the more impressional but it solved no problems (save the food problems of agitators) and there was nothing radical about it.

In the meanwhile something really radical was going on. A group of thoughtful New Yorkers who never graced a soapbox, never urged any March on Washington, and never advocated emigration to Africa, decided that the fundamental problem of Harlem was concentrating some of Harlem's surplus money so that it could be used to break the mortgage barrier imposed by the banks on Negro homeseekers, preventing them from getting out of the slums and into homes of their own. The savings of Harlem's people could bring this about.

■

**SO ON MARCH 1, 1943,** they made the first inquiries about setting up a building and loan association. By July, 1945, $200,000 of the necessary $300,000 had been raised. Petition was then made to operate as a Federal institution rather than a New York State one.

In February 1948, the application was approved, and on George W. Carver's birthdate, Jan. 5, 1949, the association formally opened its doors at 53 West 125th St., with $225,000 in subscriptions pledged by 800 persons.

By the end of the year this people's bank had assets of $829,218.80. At the end of 1950, it had assets of $1,508,066.56; a total of 3,725 savers, and a mortgage portfolio of $1,291,662.27.

■

This people's bank has just completed remodeling and modernizing its New York office at 75 West 125th St. It recently opened a branch office in Brooklyn, at 1273 Fulton St. At the end of the first six months of 1961, the Carver Federal Savings and Loan Association had assets of $14,385,932.35, holding 94th place among the 233 such associations in New York State.

Its net savings were $10,944,536.61, and dividend payments of $304,749.37. The mortgage portfolio had grown to $12,403,200.52; the reserves were increased to $1,075,054.71; savings accounts increased to $12,451,205.07, and some 2,000 savers received dividends of over $178,000.

Before the coming of Carver, white banks virtually ignored Negroes' housing wants, although there were Negro bank deposits exceeding $50 million. Now these banks are falling over themselves granting mortgages to Negroes. Carver has enabled 1,000 Harlemites to buy homes where they wanted to buy them.

Well, there's an outstanding example of radicalism—getting to the roots of the Negro urban problem with sound, American methods.

# Views and Reviews . . . .

By George S. Schuyler

IT SEEMS TO ME very deplorable that the 20 million U. S. Negroes have more leaders than statesmen. In consequence, their economic, social and cultural advancement has been greatly retarded when there could have been great advancement.



Mr. Schuyler

Most of these leaders are simply demagogues, but they are, unhappily, the best known and most popular because of agitating and stimulating programs of no fundamental value to their people.

Where they have led their people is astray; stirring up racial suspicion and hatred, playing upon the masses' tremendous sense of inferiority and futility, while complaining, begging and denouncing white people for not handing out everything demanded, as been done since Emancipation.

They have ignored the great opportunities and advantages Negroes have to ameliorate their condition, while sending them chasing will-o-the-wisps.

**FOR EXAMPLE,** the urbanized Negro obviously needs massive technical training in order to meet competition and job discrimination, or else he will always be on relief or in the barrel in our automated economy.

Have our leaders used their talents to supply the necessary training to Negro youth? The NAACP has not done so, nor has CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Council, nor the AME's or AMEZ's.

Most Negro communities do not have a single trade or technical school, nor have they given scholarships to young men and women to enter existing white technical schools. They insist that white people do what they should do themselves.

In New York where there are scores of such schools and where one million-plus Negroes live, the trade schools are almost bereft of Negro students. The same is true in other large Negro communities. Has any campaign been launched by anybody to remedy this? I doubt it.

■

**THE WHOLE** housing and school situation seems cockeyed. The fundamental fact is that **how** people live is far more more important **than** where they live.

The so-called leaders cry for the white folks to improve the neighborhoods in which Negroes live, but rarely do they initiate or espouse programs for Negroes to improve these neighborhoods.

There is an utter failure to recognize that slums are not houses, but people who care little or nothing about neighborhood improvement; who are careless, indifferent and lazy, and therefore the problem is how to train them for urban living.

■

**MUCH EMPHASIS** has been placed on moving Negro school children (a small minority at best) to schools far from their homes; but little emphasis on bringing the schools near at hand up to the finest educational and physical standards.

As a result few Negro parents attend Parent-Teacher meetings. So-called leaders have "bamboozled" Negroes into believing that the best solution to group problems is to flee from the group.

This, on many counts, is tragic.

# Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

Pittsburgh Courier Pg Sec 2 Sat 12-9-61 Pittsburgh Pa.

IT IS comforting to learn that a growing number of U. S. public schools are changing the method of teaching children to read. They are going back to the "phonics-first" and abandoning the "look-and-say" system which for nearly 40 years has contributed much to the near-illiteracy of the young.



Mr. Schuyler

Those who were literate during World War I were much more literate than those of similar age are today when even college graduates are often close to illiteracy, and have vocabularies of between 1,500 and 2,000 words, if that many.

This change, if it becomes widespread, will be a boon to Negroes. Our children in urban centers average between two and three years behind local norms, and accordingly are behind in almost everything else depending upon reading, writing and vocabularies.

To some of them it seems that English is a foreign language. Thus, at a time when young Negroes need to be more prepared than white children, they are generally less prepared.

Much of this, of course, is due to ignorant, uncultured and disinterested parents, but a lot of it is due to the "look-and-say" method of teaching which stresses words as pictures rather than as sounds.

■

**ANY CHILD** with interested parents who is not mentally retarded or rachitic can be taught a large vocabulary before it is two years old by the "phonics-first" method.

A normal child, whose mother did not feed up on trash during gestation and who was fed from the breast instead of a bottle, should know its alphabet forward, backward and indiscriminately at the age of two, and by the time it is three should know and spell at least 500 words, probably more.

Syllables being interchangeable in thousands of words, a child taught by the phonics method an soon spell words immediately that it has never seen or heard before, even very long words.

Sets of individual wooden letters can be easily bought which enable it to not only see but feel them, and games can be invented by alert parents that will sustain interest. Such a child can easily be taught to write the printed and script alphabets, and also the ten-numerals by the time it is three.

■

**AFTER THAT** it takes to arithmetic with alacrity. Instead of letting it spend its time at aimless play, the child should be shown how much play there is in letters and figures, and parents should play the game with the child.

After all, the quicker a child has adult mental equipment, the quicker it will be able to master the tools of learning and enter into a specialized field of study leading to a rewarding career.

The initial keys are the ability to read, write, spell and figure, and the sooner they are had, the better for the future.

It is criminal to contend that a child should be taught nothing along this line until it enters the first grade at six. It should be out of college by 16.

Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuyler

The Corner

P-8

WHILE A mouthy minority of Negroes has been preening itself on making history, a smaller minority has been making hay.

Only the future will tell which has been doing more to benefit the Negro, but I venture to think that the various "ins" (sit-ins, stand-ins, drive-ins, swim-ins, etc.) have had chiefly nuisance value, if any.



Mr. Schuyler

In the meanwhile, as headlines were being monopolized by our synthetic heroes and mahatmas, the Seda Commercial Corporation in New York City, run by Negroes, who have rarely if ever made the headlines, quietly entered the field of insurance premium financing. Starting in March 1960, by mid-1961, this company had loaned more than $250,000 to some 1,700 people who wished to pay their insurance premiums on a conveniently monthly basis.

■

**WORKING CLOSELY** with the corporation was the United Insurance Brokers Association, another local group in insurance premium financing, with most of the business in the area of automobile liability insurance.

A new New York law requires every registered automobile to be covered by such insurance.

These alert Negroes saw a business opportunity and availed themeslves of it. They are doing handsomely at 143 W. 125th St., New York 27, N. Y. The president is Hawthorne E. Lee.

Pittsburgh.

**ON THE OTHER** side of the country in San Diego, Calif., another Negro group decided to do something about housing for Negroes except crying for help from the white folks.

Five business and professional Negroes formed the Imperial Palisades Cooperative Apartment Association, Inc. So, without a single yammer about civil rights, they had the Associated Construction Corporation of San Diego build a housing development consisting of 112 two-bedroom and three-bedroom apartments to be sold under FHA financing authorized under Title II of the Federal Housing Act. The total value of the project exceeds $1,000,000.

There are such attractive facilities as separate swimming pools for adults and youngsters and a fully equipped laundry room with an adjoining tot's playroom.

This is a "first" for such a small group of Negroes combining to process and purchase a housing project of such cost in San Diego or, it is believed, in California.

■

**LET IT BE** recorded for history that the president is Chris Cants, with Harry D. Hall as vice president; Catherine Montgomery as secretary; Alpha L. Montgomery as treasurer, and Edward C. Maddox as controller.

There are plenty of Negro communities as large and many larger than San Diego's that are yelling for good housing which they could readily supply themselves if they had the get-up and go.

Write to 2878 Imperial Ave., San Diego 2, Calif., and find out how they did it. Let's get off our knees (or soapboxes) and stop crying with loaves of bread under our arms.

# Views and Reviews . . . .

By George S. Schuyler

The Pittsburgh Courier

ACCORDING TO an NAACP release, the 60,000 Negroes of Savannah, Ga., have won a great victory over downtown stores after a 15-month boycott caused by refusal to serve Negro students at lunch counters, which are now "integrated." A great victory mass meeting attended by 3,000 was held in a Negro church, presumably not integrated.



Mr. Schuyler

It is said that during the boycott the voter registration among Negroes climbed to its present 12,500, two Negro bus drivers were hired, jim crow signs were removed from buses, and some Negroes have been taking front seats on the buses.

City park facilities now function on a non-segregated basis, a Negro has been named by the City Council to a five-man park commissioner, three "Negro" housing developments are begging for tenants, and a downtown variety store and two men's shops have moved out of the main shipping district.

I SHARE what is presumably the general jubilation, but I think the NAACP release should have given additional information. For instance, I should like to know how many Negro-owned businesses were established downtown during this 15-month period, setting an example in non-segregated service to all races alike.

Do Negroes own any more filling stations than they did 15 months ago?

Has a really first-class restaurant, owned and operated by Negroes been established downtown catering to one and all?

When the variety store and the two men's shops moved from the main shopping area, did Negro capital readily move into the vacuum?

There is scarcely a community of 60,000 in the USA, which does not have at least one first-class hotel. So during their 15-month vigil, did Savannah's Negro moguls build or acquire a worthwhile hostelry catering to all citizens alike?

What is the Negro community of Savannah manufacturing for general sale after concentrating on economic questions for the past 15 months?

Do Negroes own any appreciable number of shares in the bus company or any other corporation in Savannah?

THERE MUST be many Negro communities in the USA outside Dixie, where there is no legal racial discrimination or segregation, but one thing I have noticed is that none of them is trying to start any campaign to end white business monopoly by either corporate ownership or competition.

In this all Negro communities are on a par. If white stores and factories closed down suddenly, Negroes could buy no food or clothing, would have few jobs, and could eat at no lunch counters without money.

We have always enjoyed the civil right to invest, and thus own a share in the economy, but very few invoke that civil right.

When nothing changes but the right to spend and play, brethren we're marking time.

# Views and Reviews . . . . By George S. Schuyler

A BEAUTIFUL addition to the Art of the World series published by McGraw-Hill Company, is "Africa: The Art of the Negro Peoples" by Ekkey Lenzinger. The book sells for $10 and is cheap at that price. It is in binding, typography, drawings and colored photographs, and editorially a work approaching perfection — and I've read most of the books on African art published in the past 30 years. Indeed, I once sold African art and handicrafts.



Mr. Schuyler

First of all is the green, orange and black container in which it comes, with a magnificent gold mask from the treasury of King Kofi Kahari of Ashanti on one side and a leopard made of five elephant tusks on the other. This just whets your curiosity to dig into the 247-page work which was published last year in Germany and printed in Holland.

There is a lovely frontispiece, a color plate of a wooden-lidded meat and vegetable bowl from the Kwanga tribe of Barotseland. This prepares you for the 63 color plates scattered through the work. You see the best of African work in its natural color. Additionally, each one of these color plates and the 144 black-and-white illustrations are identified as to source and in what museum it is to be found.

■

**THIS IS** one of the best organized books of its kind I have seen. It is divided into two parts: Part I. General and Part II. Style Regions. Part I begins with an admirable introduction "The Approach to Negro Art," then moves to "Country and People," "Religion," "Sociology," Material and Technique" and "Form," each intelligently discussed and illustrated.

Part II begins with an "Introduction to the Western Sudan and West Africa," and deals progressively with "Western Sudan," "The Western Lands of the Atlantic Coast," "The Eastern Lands of the Atlantic Coast." "The Cameroons and French Equatorial Africa," "Belgian Congo," "East Africa" "South-East Africa and Madagascar" and "Future Prospects."

■

**ILLUSTRATIVE** of the style is the opening sentence: "Negro art attracts and enthralls us by its emotional vigor and clarity of form," and the closing lines: "From the struggles and tribulations of the present, Negro art will rise up again to new heights like Phoenix from the ashes, to give new truth to the boundless artistic potentialities of the African."

The extremely wide margin on one side of each page makes room for the black-and-white figures illustrating the text. At the end are three tinted maps: one devoted to vegetation and geographical names, another to art forms, and another to the tribes of Africa. Then come in turn a table of African races and cultures, an extended Bibliography, a glossary and an index. The color plates previously mentioned are not printed directly on the pages but simply pasted at one end so that they can be easily removed if so desired.

# Views and Reviews By George S. Schuyler

**PERHAPS NOBODY** but the Chinese themselves know how many restaurants and laundries Chinese own in the United States, but anybody who has been around the country must conclude that there are thousands and thousands of them. Add to that the grocery stores and meat markets the Chinese own, and one must figure that their economy is sizeable. There can be few urban communities in the USA with populations in excess of 10,000 that do not have at least one of these enterprises, often in principal business areas. The Chinese one sees in them, however, are the waiters, salesmen, clerks, cashiers, dishwashers and ironers. It is rarely that one sees a Chinese patron.



Mr. Schuyler

This is not strange, since there are fewer Chinese and Sino-Americans in this country than there are people in Montgomery, Ala. Chinese began coming here shortly after the California gold discovery and the construction of the Union Pacific railroad, but severe immigration restrictions and other discriminatory laws have kept their number small.

■

**HOW DOES IT** happen that these illiterate laborers, who generally knew nothing about cookery, are so prominent in the restaurant field? How does it happen that Negroes, who were first in the field of hand laundering, have so very few of these small businesses left? And if there are many large Negro-owned steam laundries, it seems to be a secret, whereas the Chinese in almost every large urban center have a big laundry that serves the side street hand laundries. Ironically, many of these laundries' trucks are driven by Negroes!

Go into any sizeable Chinese communities, like San Francisco and New York, and it is hard to find any business enterprises that are NOT owned and operated by Chinese. Moreover, by clever public relations through the years, the surrounding white population has been so "sold" on exotic Chinese herbs, tea, roots, dried octopus, etc., that a large proportion of the patrons are whites. Generally, the only "sit-ins" that intrigue the Mongolian brethren, are the customers who "sit-in" these business enterprises and spend millions in the coin of the Republic.

■

**IN ALL** of my years in the Land of the Free, I have never seen nor heard of a Chinese soapboxer bellowing for civil rights, even though most of them still cannot vote and have had severe restrictions on property ownership, while the Oriental employment range until recently, was less than that of Negroes.

Do I exaggerate? I think not If less than 200,000 Chinese and Sino-Americans own many more business enterprises than 20,000,000 Negroes, and are more influential in the economic community, there must be something radically wrong with the leadership and direction (to say nothing of the psychology) of Homo Africanus in this, his adopted land.

# THE WORLD TODAY

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

**ANGOLA'S** once terrorist-plagued areas getting back to normal, with 7,500 erstwhile terrorists and refugees streaming back to their homes for food, medical attention and normal living. The district governor meets them and the Portuguese Army helps them readjust, also the Red Cross. Since March 15, some 6,000 non-whites and 1,500 whites died at terrorist hands before the multi-racial Army suppressed them.

ALABAMA'S four Negro ministers, out on bond in libel suit filed by white officials, were turned down by Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. They will have to face the music and pay the money ($2,000,000). This should make other propagandists more careful in their charges against whites.

**GHANA'S** oppositionists hold key to the future of Nkrumah's regime. If they throw a couple more bombs while Queen Elizabeth is there, the "Republic" will vanish.

BRITISH GUIANA'S Cheddi Jagan riding for a fall due to his impatience. He has antagonized Uncle Sam before he gets the dough, which is bad for him. He naively looks to Russia, Red China and Cuba to save him. Dunce!

# Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

THERE is an alarming paucity of skilled workers among colored folk and in this age of automation we are falling farther behind. Much of it is due to lack of apprentice training, thanks to racism in the labor unions; but much of it is due to the negligence of the Negro community whose so-called leaders have failed to organize the means to combat it. Some of it is due to vocational counselors in our schools who steer Negro youth to the kind of pursuits for which they think young Negroes should prepare. Confronted with this problem, parents and preachers need to get on the ball. Has your church conducted such a campaign recently, if ever? Some of it is due to the fact that you will find the smallest percentage of Negro high school pupils in the various trade schools in the free educational system. Why?



Mr. Schuyler

■

**THERE ARE** estimated to be some 40,000 Negro churches in this country, and it would show commendable enterprise if most or all of them would set up a scholarship fund to send at least one boy or girl graduate of high school through some polytechnic institute of repute to emerge as a trained technician. We are burdened with enough social workers and educationists now. What we need are thousands of colored youths who are properly prepared to take their place in highly mechanized industry where the pay is big and the demand is great. We can really get nowhere without these people. The preeminence of the great nations is based not on their strength but on the corps of capital-creating production men, technicians and scientists. It also depends upon their vast accumulations of fixed and fluid capital. Negroes here have immense fixed and fluid capital but ignorant leadership has prevented them from mobilizing it in a fruitful manner.

**IT IS REALLY** a tragic joke that having been subjected to training in the capitalistic mode of production, distribution and exchange, U. S. Negroes after over three centuries of exposure apparently know so little about it. A campaign of church-sponsored scholarships to technical schools seems to me to have much to commend it. Anywhere from $1,000 to $1,500 would turn out a youngster skilled in some technical pursuit, and if the congregation got behind him when he graduated, and cooperated with the various Negro agencies that bring pressure on various levels (Negro American Labor Council, Urban League, NAACP, etc.), such a young graduate would get a job. Multiply that by 30,000 or 40,000 scholarships, and you can see where we would be by, say, 1962. This would be better use of the people's money than sending the pastor on a $5,000 vacation or to some church conference in Europe. And more fruitful to the group than any Gandhian campaign.

# Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

**WERE** it possible to issue a ukase and have it obeyed, I would order the civilized minority of black America to buy and to carefully read "Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership," by James Q. Wilson of the University of Chicago (The Free Press, $5). Like a skilled surgeon, the author explores the anatomy of the Negro urban community, especially Chicago (but, to a lesser extent, Boston, New York and Los Angeles) and comes up with findings based on a mass of data which confirm my long-held conclusion that the Negro is the worst-led group in America. The so-called leadership, for all of its pretenses, has very little following, is more concerned with social status than any real progress of the group as a whole, and is motivated by slogans and catch-phrases that are superficial to the point of absurdity. Here are the four-flushers, poseurs, demagogues and strivers put under the microscope and exposed for the fakers and Lilliputians that most of them are.



Mr. Schuyler

■

**THEY HAVE SUCCEEDED** in "selling" a distressing number of colored people on such will-o'-the-wisps as complete integration while fighting immediate steps to better the unfortunate masses bedeviled by disease, criminality, ignorance, rootlessness and aimlessness, by labeling the natural tendency of people to congregate as segregation. For all the noise and commotion, this leadership element among Negroes shows little results, while the masses mill about distressingly unwitting of their way, following each striving demagogue hither and yon as each new slogan is pitched up for grabs. Mr. Wilson's is a careful, calm and objective appraisal which is the more devastating for that reason. He is not anti-Negro, just pro-facts, which can be the unkindest cut of all.

■

**THEY CANNOT** raise the money to support vital institutions but must beg it from the white folks. Meanwhile, the vast proliferation of Negro groups, societies, clubs and churches raises and squanders millions weekly. In a colored community of 750,000, a joint appeal to help support welfare services, had extreme difficulty raising $25,000. In a typical year, the Chicago Urban League could raise among Negroes only $10,000 for an $80-90,000 budget. Of the 300 Negro lawyers, less than a half-dozen will help provide legal defense for black victims of racial persecution. The political leaders there who boast of their powerful organization are mere ciphers in the city and state legislatures. There is no more unity among these community leaders than among a carload of hungry cats. There is, says Wilson, "a scarcity of able and creative leadership." From the viewpoint of needs versus achievements, only the Boston Negro community is worse off. New York is further ahead, thanks, perhaps, to the alert, intelligent, two-million-plus Jewish community. Politically, Los Angeles seems to be nowhere, like the bear in the middle of Times Square.

Read this book, brethren. It will make you think and, mayhap, act.

# Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

IT IS TO BE HOPED that the Kennedy Administration will pursue a policy of appointing Negro alternate delegates to the United Nations who have some inkling of what it is all about. I am thinking now of Dr. Zelma W. George, an Eisenhower appointee who rose up and applauded the passage of the Asia-African resolution to end colonialism, although the U.S. delegation had abstained from voting on instructions from the White House. Any administration is concerned primarily with the interests of the United States in the struggle for survival in a world beset by militant Marxism, and it is not for U. S. delegates to presume that they know better than the administration what should be done. What the members personally think is beside the point and should certainly not be expressed in any way. If they have any reservations, they should not accept the appointment in the first place. These people are diplomats not demagogues, and are supposed to act accordingly. It seems to me that one other Negro alternate delegate cut the same hog. If we believe in integration, let's forget any special pleading for African political hustlers, Marxists all, who swallow the Communist line like a field hand gorging chitterlings.



Mr. Schuyler

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**AS FOR** the African-Asians, their animus against colonialism is largely a fraud. To my knowledge none has condemned Soviet colonialism which is the most ruthless the world has observed in two centuries. None has denounced India for refusal to permit a plebescite in Kashmir or to free the revolting Nagas. None has condemned in any way Red China's taking over of Indian territory larger than Liberia. The same Africans who approved Senegal's secession from the Mali Federation and approved her admission to the U.N., refused to recognize Katanga as a sovereign state, but on the contrary opposed federation in the erstwhile Belgian Congo and fought for a centralized government there which is patently unpopular with the Congolese, who are victims of an administrative Belgian convenience. They hailed Nigeria, a federated state, but are opposed to the Rhodesian Federation. They also approved the federation of Eritrea and Ethiopia, ignoring the fact that it was a veiled form of colonialism. If any of the Afro-Asian UN delegates have questioned the Sudanese oppression of the pagan and Christian blacks in the southern reaches of that country, I have not read of it. Ditto the Red Chinese strafing of Tibet.

The United States is in the United Nations (to my regret) and is there primarily to oppose Communist propaganda and subversion. It must be presumed that the U.S. State Department knows what it is doing (having won the approval of the American people in honest elections). When a Negro is appointed alternate delegate to the U. S. delegation to the UN, he or she is speaking not for himself or herself but for the United States of America, and should act accordingly.

# Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

RETURNING to the subject of U. S. Negro expatriates, I have mentioned how one is struck by their paucity. Out of the 20,000,000 colored Americans, I would be surprised to learn that there are more than 2,000 living abroad as civilians and not on any American payroll or scholarship -- and I am talking about the entire world. This is indeed passing strange, considering the steady and strident chorus of complaint arising from the colored brethren about their treatment and status under the Stars and Stripes. Under the circumstances the traveler about the world would expect to find colonies of U. S. Negro expatriates in almost every country, but I fancy that for some time to come one will not find them even in the new African republics. Certainly there are no such colonies in the various Caribbean lands that I have visited. Perhaps there is a secret suspicion that one might be no better off in Bamako than in Baltimore; and if this is the thinking, it is correct.



Mr. Schuyler

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**DESPITE THE** activities of the White Citizens Council and the Ku Klux Klan, I foresee no enthusiasm developing for a Back-to-Africa movement, nor even mild curiosity. Many Negroes have asked me about the balmy non-white countries I have visited but I have heard few say they wanted to go there, save as a tourist with a return ticket to the land of bias and jim crow.

However, with so many Negroes now living on old age pensions, who weary of rigorous winters and auto-dodging summers, I think a lot of them could live contentedly abroad in balmy and peaceful surroundings, and even save some of their pension money. As one becomes mature enough not to worry about local politicians and their skullduggery, and is not panting to revolutionize the world (a task at which even Our Saviour was less than successful), places like the Dominican Republic, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Tobago, St. minican Republic, Grenada, St. and Trinidad can be attractive and inexpensive havens for the declining years.

■

**..SERVANTS, SUCH** as they are, cost little especially if one had a stout padlock on the refrigerator). The money one saves in rent places like Cleveland, San Antonio and Winston-Salem, can be used for a good radio, for various U. S. newspapers and magazines, and a nice three or four-room home. In even the more remote places, there are a few civilized people with whom to converse. If some disgruntled burr-heads stage an insurrection, Uncle Sam always looks out for his children who have been smart enough to keep their passports. Chicken and fish are cheap, and fruit and vegetables are generally plentiful. There might be difficulty in always getting rye and bourbon, but Scotch, gin, rum and cognac are always available, along with an assortment of beers. Usually the water is potable and disease seems to be under control. It costs little to get there by plane (and to get back). Perhaps some of our pensioners might like it. Personally, I think I would prefer Surinam. How beautiful is Paramaribo!

# Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

IT IS A PLEASURE to learn that Lincoln Enterprises Inc., of 199 Tower Ave., Hartford, Conn., a business owned and operated by a group of enterprising young Negroes, is still progressing, while all about us we hear other Negroes singing the blues about the depression and trying to devise ways to get new handouts from the government.



Mr. Schuyler

Courier readers will recall that last year I gave some space to this business, of which Lincoln J. Davis is president, and pointed out that as a sacrifice, to get the Negroes of Hartford on their economic feet, he and the officers of the company were serving without pay.

At that time, Lincoln Enterprises had acquired nine houses and one commercial site from which they realized annual rentals of $41,000. Since then, Lincoln Enterprises has launched the William Andrews Construction Co. Inc., for the purpose of building and repairing properties.

It is wholly owned by the parent-company and gives employment to six workers.

■

**RECENTLY,** Lincoln has set up the Farmers' Superette, a modern grocery store, at 53 Canton St., Hartford. Started in August, it is now grossing $2,000 weekly and employs three workers. At 77 Donald St., Hartford, Lincoln has also launched a restaurant, Al's Barbecue. This little place nets $225 weekly and employs three workers.

So here are 12 Negroes put to work by Negroes through commercial enterprise. If this could be multiplied a thousand fold, the 20,000 Hartford Negroes would well be on the road to independence, economic, that is.

And unless people are free economically, they will never be otherwise, no matter how many rights they have on paper. Negroes have sat down in several hundred white restaurants in the past year, but they have not made it possible for a single restaurant cashier to set down beside a cash register.

Wouldn't it be wonderful if in each town where there has been picketing, the Negroes would set an example to the community by establishing a fine restaurant open to everybody?

■

**THE FAME** of Lincoln Enterprises Inc. has gone over the country, because Negroes realize more than ever that this is the sort of approach they must make to economic freedom.

He speaks on March 21 to the Everglade Progressive Citizens Corp. of Bell-Glade, Fla., a suburb of West Palm Beach.

This latter group of Negroes owns a service station, eight new apartment units, a collection agency, a restaurant, a construction company and several building sites. You probably never heard of either the Connecticut or the Florida group because they are not crying for help and floundering at the feet of Mister Charlie, hat-in-hand, singing the weary blues. They have learned that salvation begins at home.

# Views and Reviews

By George S. Schuyler

WERE I to choose to reside for a while on some lush but uninhabited tropic isle, one of the few things I should like to carry along would be "History of Classic Jazz," produced by Bill Grauer Jr. and Orrin Keepnews, with an excellent introductory essay by the eminent jazz expert, Charles Edward Smith.



Mr. Schuyler

Formerly hawked at $25, it has now been reduced to $9.95, which, in my opinion, is a bargain. Crown Publishers, 419 Park Ave., So., New York 16, N. Y., distributes it.

■

So, parked in my thatched hut on Woogie-Boogie Island with my few duds, canned goods, utensils and record player, I would while away the time playing these wonderful recordings in 10 volumes (12-inch, microgroove, long-playing disks) and digging the musical genius of my people.

As I lay back on my pallet and drank in the syncopated sound in that salubrious atmosphere, I would not be able to help wondering what the people were doing—and what were they doing poor!

■

**WELL, THE** other night (and time being what it is, for some nights afterward) I played through the 10 volumes.

Believe me, it was a delightful journey down the musical Memory Lane. **Backgrounds** was the first volume with tribal drums and music from the Congo, street cries of Charleston, S. C., Blind Lemon Jefferson's guitar vocal, Rev. J. M. Gates' sermon and response by congregation, a military band, and Fred Van Eps with a ragtime piece on banjo.

In **Ragtime** there were the old masters, Scott Joplin, James Scott, Joseph Lamb, Jelly Roll Morton and Cow Cow Davenport.

Then came **The Blues** with the best of Ma Rainey, Bessie Smith, Ida Cox, Chippie Hill and Big Bill Broonzy.

Following that was **New Orleans Style** with the wonders rendered by King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, a couple by Jelly Roll Morton, the New Orleans Rhythm Kings (with the **Livery Stable Blues**), and **Red Onion Jazz Babies** (Armstrong, Bechet, etc.

In **Boogie Woogie** is the best of Wesley Wallace, Jimmy Yancey, Cripple Clarence Lofton, Meade Lux Lewis, Art Hodes and Pete Johnson.

After that **South Side Chicago** featuring platters by Johnny Dodds and Tiny Parham, Freddie Keppard's Jazz Cardinals, Barrelhouse Five, State Street Ramblers, Lovie Austin's Blues Serenaders, and Doc Cook's Dreamland Orchestra.

■

Then **Chicago Style**, featuring the Stomp Six, the Wolverines with Bix Beiderbecke, Charlie Pierce and Wingy Manone.

Followed by Harlem, with James P. Johnson, Cliff Jackson, Clarence Williams, Duke Ellington and Fletcher Henderson. Then **New York Style** with Original Memphis Five, California Ramblers (Red Nicholas), Wild Bill Davison, Yank Lawson and Muggsy Spanier.

And finally, **New Orleans Revival** with King Ory, Bunk Johnson, George Lewis, Lu Watters and the Dixieland Rhythm Kings playing St. James Infirmary Blues.

Many recordings are old and rare . . . So you can see why I wouldn't get lonesome on my island.

# A Southerner Speaks . . . By F. L. Shuttlesworth

IT IS a pathetic thing to listen to the stories of brutality being visited upon the persons of the Freedom Riders in the jails and penitentiaries of Mississippi.

As a speaker at many rallies for their cause in many parts of the country, it has been mine over and over, from San Francisco to Chattanooga, and from Chicago to New York, to sit on platforms with them as they relate the torture, the inhuman treatment, and the un-American acts by public officials who operate the penal institutions of Mississippi as torture chambers for the Riders.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

Wrist breakers, electric shock pads—applied to various parts of the body, scrubbing with stiff brushes, withholding of mattresses at times so that persons must sleep on steel bunks or the concrete floors, shutting off air fans with large numbers being confined to very small quarters, or turning on air conditioners during cool periods of day and night, not allowing persons to have use of toothbrushes, deodorants, and personal effects at times—all these and many more horrible things to be related with a consistency which leaves no room for doubt, as Riders from all over the country say the same things.

■

**RIDERS TELL** of seeing burn spots on bodies of others from the shock pads, and of seeing some dragged bodily over concrete floors, and still others tell of having hoses drench them and the air conditioners turned up full blast.

And to a man, they tell of how ideal the conditions were made to appear as several investigations of their treatment were held; and how mattresses and other comforts were quickly confiscated after the investigations.

The thing which makes it so bad is that this is 20th century seeking to impress the world with its goodness.

A country seeking to get men to acknowledge a world rule of law, and men abiding by the law. Yet, here are keepers of the law breaking the fundamental law, and the nation appears unable to put an end to it.

But there is a gloriousness this hour also! Despite the horrible stories, men and women keep coming to the concentration camps!

At every rally—and even before — individual Americans are signing up to enlist their aid—and their bodies—in helping to end the mess in Mississippi! Over 300 have so submitted themselves; and others are joining! The ranks are swelling — and Freedom's March is on the way!

■

**THERE CAN** be nothing but legitimate praise and admiration with full support for the heroes of this hour!

America owes them a debt which will be adequately repaid only when with unerring aim, and incredible swiftness, the country moves to end for all times the stink and shame of segregation.

And this much is certain Segregation by law is dead. It should not be so very difficult to make law officials toe the line. Or, if we must be this weak at home, it is difficult to see how we intend to impress Khrushchev with our power and might at Berlin—or anywhere else.

■

**A FINAL THOUGHT** here is also apparent: Come what may, here or abroad, we are determined not to let the country sleep again until this business is settled.

No need to ask a cooling off period; no need to point out the advance of Russia! Rather there is need for full speed ahead on the home front.

The soldiers are ready! The signal has been given, and the march is well on its way. The embattled forces of the old order can expect us to give them no quarter; for we are not afraid anymore. Not even death itself can stop the attack.

For life without segregation is our goal—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness must be our accomplishment! And one day America will be free; and the country will hail its saviors.

—More for Your Money in The Courier—

## M. V. Strong Talks

### LET'S SAY, "WELL DONE"

IN THIS trying day when so much of tomorrow is in the making, it would be wise to take time out and say "Well Done" to our new young President.

Let us remember that the world was not made in one day, nor that the whole scheme of things cannot be changed overnight by the waving of a magic wand.

Let us be satisfied with the great and wonderful progress already made and find things anticipated. Let us take time out to say we are pleased with the great progress already made and wish to say, with all our hearts, "Well Done," Mr. President.

# A Southerner Speaks . . . By F. L. Shuttlesworth

SUDDENLY, there it was! Like a thunderbolt out of the blue it came crashing in upon the defiant Birmingham community. Like an often-prayed for shower, it strengthened the hopes and patience of countless thousands who had asked God for some tangible victory in the long, dark night.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

For Justice appeared to have taken wings and flown away, and the Power - Structure in Birmingham were satisfied to go on their power - mad way, totally unmindful of the Twentieth Century, and certainly acting as if they had never heard that Court decisions had already swept away segregation barriers as close as Nashville, Atlanta, New Orleans, Houston and Dallas.

**SOME MEN** believe in lies so much that it is difficult to reconcile themselves with Truth. Some wallow so deeply in the mud until it may indeed be difficult for them to differentiate between a pig's sty and a parlor floor.

It seems that Justice, when forced to be absent, or to take a back seat in men's affairs, returns in a fashion which makes wicked men quake, and hard men tremble. But they who have waited patiently, and at a great odds, rejoice that "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

And so it is in Birmingham, Tuesday, Oct. 24th, was Judgment Day for segregation in parks and recreational facilities. Federal Judge Grooms, as is his manner, ruled forthrightly from the bench that the Supreme Court and Fifth Circuit Court had spoken the law in such cases many times; and that such was binding upon his Court.

**TO CITY ATTORNEY** Breckenridge, who argued that "whites and 'good Nigras' had agreed to be separate and use separate facilities," Judge Grooms said: "Mr. Breckenridge, you are talking to the wrong Court."

His Honor didn't even make a comment upon his assertions that "Shuttlesworth likes publicity," and that, "I know you won't belive his testimony, for I don't believe a word he says."

The judge kind of smiled at me (sitting at the bar with Attorneys Jackson of Jacksonville, and W. L. Williams, Jr., of Birhamingham) when the city Attorney was "laying it on me"; but I could see that he felt he had to do a job for Democracy — no matter how hard it must be.

It's been a long time since I have seen men and women crying in the streets. I was almost mobbed, by kind friends, this time) as we left the courtroom. Negroes now know for a certainty that America will certainly deliver upon her promises — ultimately, and by the hardest, if not immediately.

■

**BULL CONNOR** (police commissioner), as usual commented that as far as he was concerned all the parks, swimming pools, etc., would be closed. The mayor agreed. Mr. Waggoner has disagreed. And now, even the rabid-segregationist Birmingham News is petulantly pleading with the city to "face facts" and consider all the effects closing everything would have in this day.

The possible effect upon future business concern was given, among others as a good reason for caution. We have yet to hear from the Business Community and the white ministers or the civic pride.

The cold, ugly fact is that the leaders of the white community have not prepared them for this day; in fact have misled the white people, who, by far and large, would be law-abiding. The sins of the past have arisen to stifle the present and becloud the future.

■

**THE PARKS** may be closed; for thus far, Birmingham has operated with a closed mind. Negroes my plead, but have not the power to keep them open. But an open mind is the order of the day, and maybe this one shattering decision may prove just one significant crack through which light, hope, and reason may creep in to illuminate the Americans who inhabit the "Magic City" of Birmingham, Ala.

# A Southerner Speaks By F. L. Shuttlesworth

**I AM APPEALING** as a defendant in several criminal cases in several courts—including two, now soon to be heard, before the U. S. Supreme Court. These range from conspiracy to disorderly conduct, to conduct calculated to cause a breach of the peace.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

Of these, some have one or more counts, and the charge in a Montgomery case was redesigned almost on appeal two weeks ago.

Three appeal cases, set for Dec. 4, in Birmingham, Ala., should be of special interest to those interested in equal and exact justice under the law. For me, heretofore, Alabama justice has been nowhere equal, and has extracted of me more than that which was exact.

■

**THERE APPEARS** no inclination of the Alabama judges to look more cordially beyond the segregation issue; and I would certainly imagine that the city parks and recreational desegregation decision of the Federal Court, a few days ago — in which I was the key person— will not be helpful in relieving the judge before whom I shall appear on three charges, of any of his prejudices or deference to local customs.

Briefly, then, I shall be tried on a charge of "refusing to move," although I really was trying to "move" with the students "arrested in protective custody," towards the police van. The police chief couldn't persuade me to "go home and keep out of this," so there is another charge of "interference with an officer."

When I appeared in City Court on the two charges above, the judge was so inflamed because I would not (or could not) promise to be good for the next 12 months, that he added a $5,000 peace bond, or 30 days, plus $10 and 12 hours contempt of court.

The peace bond is the third case for Dec. 4. Since you cannot appeal contempt, we are asking State Appellate Court for a writ of certiorari. Eventually, this, too, will be before the U. S. Supreme Court.

■

**ENOUGH OF MY** woes. It is tragic that violence still is going on in McComb, Miss., when Negroes and whites test the ICC ban on travel bias. This, despite the fact that Africa, Russia, China and the rest of the world are wondering how we can ask them to respect the law, while law officials allow mobs to beat up defenseless people in the South.

And how horrible it must look to all, that people still are being kept in jail and tried on out-dated charges, growing out of the ICC ruling.

It takes a lot to make some men see. Certain leaders of the South have sworn never to open their eyes. The Federal Government is at last coming to grips with the problems But I fear that Negroes will have to bear the brunt of leadership for a long while, yet.

Thank God, we are willing to undertake this task. And we believe we shall achieve the victory, so help us, God!

# A Southerner Speaks . . . By F. L. Shuttlesworth

A FEW WEEKS ago the world mourned the loss of Dag Hammerskold, one of the leading and dominating figures of the contemporary scene.

Because of the unique nature of the United Nations, and the particular part it plays in trying to maintain a shaky and precarious balance between mass suicide and human sanity, Mr. Hammerskold had been projected to the forefront as a leading negotiator of world peace.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

Wherever man was found—whether in the steaming jungles or the icy fringe of the North—the man was at least respected, if not loved.

**TODAY THE** world joins again—as indeed is a lot of mortal men—in mourning the death of another statesman who distinguished himself not by traveling around the world mending broken fences and stamping out brush fire wars.

He distinguished himself rather as a man who, longer than any other mortal man, wielded the power and prestige of the position of Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress. This gentleman by all standards was a true born, truly bred, Southerner.

The world called Mr. Sam Rayburn a great man too. Perhaps Mr. Rayburn was great not because he was a rabid racist, nor was he a leading proponent of the so-called Southern way of life.

**HE DID NOT** sign the Southern Manifesto, nor did he make speeches damming the black man for all he was worth. He chose to walk the tight middleground—if such a term can be used. Neither flagrancy nor boisterousness characterized his racial view point.

I would agree that he had qualities of greatness and exhibited them in a time of his country's need.

I have no doubt that Mr. Sam would have chosen to keep segregation as a Southerner; but his position from which he could view world affairs and his respect for the powerful office of Speaker, seems to have made him at least more open-minded on the subject, or certainly more closed-mouth about the matter of segregation. In other words, Mr. Sam was more tactful about the subject than his contemporaries.

■

**IN SOME** respects he might have been classed as a dangerous man because he was not out-spoken for the elimination of segregation—and maybe he was. For it behooves all Americans to be first and foremost FOR FREEDOM with reservation.

At least he was not as bad as IKE, the chief executive officer of the country at a perilous time, who saw nothing, felt nothing, thought nothing, said nothing, and finally wound up doing nothing toward the elimination of segregation.

History will have to recall that IKE was the one man who could have spoken on time, and at times, and would have made a valuable contribution toward freedom.

Now IKE is retired and golfing; Mr. Sam and Dag are sleeping the sleep of death; freedom and justice are triumphing all over the world; and the world goes marching on!

# A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

AT LONG last the grim struggle to make appreciable progress in race relations has begun to bear tangible fruit.

Though it has not come by the route of brotherly kindness and overt goodwill, as Negroes had so fervently hoped certain gains are evident for all to see. Endless prayers, prayer meetings, planning petitions, requests for talks with officials — and finally, the painfully slow litigations in courts, have resulted in the beginning of the end of the shameful, cancerous, and inhuman practice of segregation as a way of life.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

Legal strategists and fuzzy-minded politicos of the South had openly boasted of and prepared for a "century of litigation." One such gentleman appeared on the TV screen, looking for all the world like a ifrst cousin of Simon Legree, and boasted that "it took them a hundred years to tell us what to do. I guess it'll take us 'bout fifty more years to get started on it."

■

**INDEED, IT** looked almost like ages, as the bombs burst in B'ham, Little Rock, Montgomery, and other places; and the mobs and mad men who didn't know what they were mad about, caused misery that will never be adequately described.

The police bruality reminded us of Russia, and the overflowing jails of the Southland, could only be likened to the camps of Concentration of the Dictators.

It looked for a while as if Hitler had left Germany and come South to carry on.

"Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning."

Ours is a nation of laws, and we are people who get around to obedience to law after awhile. I am thankful to be a citizen of a system of courts such as ours. Reluctance on the part of Federal judges is fading away, as more clear-cut and forthright rulings stream forth.

Those who had hoped to use the courts as a shield against progress are awaking to find their efforts vain.

■

**HERE IN** B'ham, we are extremely happy, as the Federal Courts have ordered an end to segregation in Terminal Railway Station.

After twice dismissing the suit and twice being reversed by the 5th Circuit Court, District Judge Lynne, was directed to enjoin the City, the bus company, and the Public Service Commission from discrimination.

The order told him to "obliterate the supposed distinction between inter and intrastate travel," and that a Negro did "not have to prove his right to be in a certain waiting room."

■

**I HAVE** written before that the Federal judges have appeared to be unaware at times that they represent the U. S., and not the Southern way of life.

In both the terminal and the bus suits the judges spoke of "voluntary segregation." Of course, I guess it's hard for men to go against their club and fraternal members.

But I presume it is much harder for soldiers to fight against enemies of this country.

I think the recent stronger orders from the Supreme Court left no doubt that its original mandate had to be carried out. And with an active Administration and Justice Department in power, everybody can move along the road to freedom.

■

**WE ARF** daily awaiting the much fought-over bus verdict to be rendered.

Judge Grooms had dismissed this one too, only to have the same Circuit Court reverse him. I presume the order will be issued within the next month . . . Just think how long these things take! Four and five years are too long for pressing issues to be adjudicated.

It is hoped that our courts may be streamlined and the processes of justice speeded up. This will do much to offset the drive of communism, for it always chides the slowfulness of the democratic process.

Being a full-blooded American, I want whatever is good for our system. And I hope we CAN and WILL do whatever is needed to make it succeed. I, for one, am willing to do my part.

# A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THE CONTINUING series of debacles which we are experiencing as a nation, both foreign and domestic, should certainly focus our attention on the things which are wrong amongst us.

The Cuban fiasco has brought to the eyes of the world that we are determined to bring about the overthrow of Castro — even if we are seen as being guilty of subversion and plotting interference of other people's affairs.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

This, of course, we may be able to do, singly or in concert with our sister Republics, under the Monroe Doctrine, and its most recent extensions and interpretations by Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy.

■

**AS AMERICANS,** as big brothers of this hemisphere, and as guardian of the democratic principles around the world, it would really be absurd to let a military base, amenable to a foreign ideology, be established with impunity only 90 miles from our shores.

More than that, there appears to be a general weakness among governments of the Latin-American Republics, and we have not yet understood how to cope with them.

Despite our disagreements—if there are any—with the handling of affairs, we must be strong in our faith, as well as in military might, and determined that our principles of freedom, dignity, and justice shall prevail.

■

**THERE IS NO** valid reason why we should not be as zealous—yea, even moreso—over our American standards as are the Russians.

We do have the advantage in many respects. Not bigger rockets, but greater principles. Maybe not more sense, but certainly more heart.

Not a larger country, but a more solid foundation for a lasting government, and assurance of justice.

Despite the fact that Russia has beaten us into outer space, and that our rockets are still misfiring or going wacky at the wrong time, we might well be comforted that we are at long last beginning to conquer INNER SPACE—the hearts of ourselves.

■

**AFTER ALL,** this is far more lasting, for "out of the heart come the issues of life." Catching up with ourselves, correcting ourselves, disciplining ourselves for real democracy, and a hard struggle in the world, is our biggest problem.

Only by these things will we then be true, and win men to the cause of freedom. Only this will overcome treachery, deceit, and mankind's unprincipled foraging for the spoils of this world.

Here, we would do well to heed the injunction of Ralph McGill, the distinguished editor of the Atlanta Constitution. He writes simply, and with candor, our most urgent need: . . . "It is imperative that we put our own house in order. We must understand what communism is.

It is an enemy of our way of life and of our Constitution, and of its guarantees of personal freedom. It is opposite of the Declaration of Independence.

■

**FOR US,** the defenders of equal rights and democracy, to insist it is Communist doctrine to desegregate schools, to give qualified colored persons good jobs and permit them to vote, in the manner of organizations like the Birch Society, the Ku Klux Klan, and White Citizens Councils, is the sort of subversion of American principles that Communist agents could not accomplish.

"Our duty is to enable the President to strengthen and defend this country. We must uphold its basic principles . . ."

No truer words than these could be spoken to America; and no more forthright could they have been spoken.

And from a Southerner, too! But from a heart of gold, a man big enough to rise and meet the dawn; from a man capable of the vision and courage so badly needed in the South and this nation today. More power to great men like Mr. McGill, and thank God for him and others like him.

Above all, be true to our country in its moments of agony, and pray for him who leads. 'Twill not be this way always. Tomorrow will be better!

A Frenchman is self-assured because he regards himself personally, both in mind and body, as irresistibly attractive to men and women . . . A Russian is self-assured just because he knows nothing and does not want to know anything, since he does not believe that anything can be known.

—LEO TOLSTOY (1828-1910)
Russian Novelist

# A Southerner Speaks . . . By F. L. Shuttlesworth

PERHAPS, MANY people do not realize that the last, legal barriers supporting segregation have been swept away in two recent court decisions.

The South, just about, has run out of its bags of tricks, and now (under the direction of the courts), must come around and get on with desegregation.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

From Virginia's so-called "massive resistence," to Arkansas' dismal experience with Mr. Faubus, and from the silly action to Louisiana's singing governor (Davis), to the same and rational acts of officials in Atlanta and Dallas.

**PLAINLY, IT IS SEEN** that the gamut of tricks have been run, and the South, at long last, gets down to business.

Further, it is ironic that the first of these critical decisions deals with Prince Edward County, from which the first school decision arose.

Here, the court has struck down the practice of issuing out state money to support private schools in an effort to avoid integration.

This is one of the South's trump cards, as they had hoped by this method to leave Negroes holding the bag.

This should have special significance for other backward areas like Birmingham, Ala., which majors in doing things in a backward way.

**BIRMINGHAM HAS** secretly been laying plans for an extensive period of private schools for tuition grants when and integration is ordered for Birmingham schools.

It will appear now that these tactics will quickly challenge Negroes when they are tried in the future.

The second of these momentum decisions came out of New Orleans, where the count struck down as in the Constitution "Legal Option Plan" wherein the state allows the local community to vote by referendum, whether or not they want integrated schools or closed schools.

After it was overwhelmingly passed by one of the bigoted parishes in Louisiana, the court struck it down, saying in effect that in theory a majority of the people in a locality do not want integration, that integration is still the law of the land.

**THESE TWO** decisions went directly to the heart of the problems, and they are encouraging for people who believe in the constitutional process.

These decisions give hope for that struggling minority which has always been abused by the white majority. A glorious day has begun to dawn.

■

**I DON'T KNOW** how Alabama will do when it gets around to its term. Under the leadership of John Patterson, it has been sinking deeper and deeper into the quagmire of stupidity, and now it is reported that the great Eugene (Bull) Conner of Birmingham, Ala., purposes to run for governor.

It will be amazing, I would imagine, to draw a comparison between the degree of stupidity that now is under Patterson and the amount that could be under Bull Conner.

The people of Alabama have sold themselves for nought, when they elected John Patterson, who would perhaps be better off if he was on the moon trying to govern the people who are not there. It would be hard to see how they would better themselves electing some one with a reputation like Bull Conner.

**PATTERSON MADE** such a mess during the Freedom Rides, that the marshals had to come from Washington.

Patterson said, "Integration will come over my dead body," Bull Conner has said "Damn the law; down here we make our own laws."

It seems to me that Alabama ought to have enough of old Pat, and should not want any more of old Bull.

# A Southerner Speaks . . . By F. L. Shuttlesworth

DESPITE THE terrific drain on the Administration's energies and ambitions occasioned by the specific Berlin crisis and the many other potentially explosive situations around the world, it should be noted, and thoroughly appreciated, that the Kennedy Brothers have just scored one of the most far reaching advances on the Civil Rights front at home. For indeed, the ICC order will be on every interstate bus and terminal facility, even on every ticket after January 1st, to challenge and restrain the further practice of segregation in such travel.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

However lightly one may view this, non-segregated travel is one of the most effective means of educating the Southern public to the fact that the old order has passed and the new day has begun.

All facilities, seats in waiting rooms and on buses, food counters, and, most important, rest rooms, are now, or soon must be, opened forever to all the public without regard to race, creed or color.

**THE SEGREGATIONISTS** will be faced by signs calling for justice, equality, and fair play, even as they have for so long imposed signs demanding practices contrary to democracy. This will be a lasting part of their education and orientation into the 20th Century culture of an America which, at last, is now getting around to correcting its own mistakes.

No longer will the poisonous venom be passed on to posterity.

Give credit to whom credit is due! Give honor to those honorable! Were it not for the Freedom Riders and their courage with dedication and devotion, the mobs and gutter-minded officials, would have prevented any progress in transportation, even though the legal basis has long been settled. CORE is due for major credit, along with other organizations, which had the foresight to join in step.

America owes a debt of gratitude to its Civil Rights organizations and its dedicated youth which, I fear, it can never repay. Even so, it is ours to do our duty without regard to sacrifices or consequences. As I have said before, this is the "Kennedyian Hour" for this nation. And, what a time and opportunity for positive leadership!

■

**THANK GOD** for the Kennedy Brothers, who are opening up "New Frontiers" for America! And it does not yet appear how far America can advance because of their vision, courage, audacity, and determination to wipe out forever the blight of discrimination and prejudice.

Being a Southerner, I would have liked to be able to say that Southern Hospitality, or Southern Goodwill, or Southern Devotion to Law and Order, brought this about. But it didn't; and we cannot fool anybody with our bland preachments about our goodness. The whole world is looking DOWN on us!

But what do men like Gov. John Patterson of Alabama, care? Even now he, with the fullest complement of stupidity for which he has become noted, foolishly suggests that the buses will now have to unload under trees and on highways. How low down can an exhalted man think?

Of course, the Bible states that "The fool has said in his heart that there is no God." Blind leadership of the blind leads only into the ditch.

■

**AGAIN, BEING A** Southerner, I regret that the so-called "great progress" with token starts in integration have had to result from court orders in Atlanta, Dallas, Houston, and other "enlightened" Southern cities. It would appear that a combination of "goodwill and dedication to law" and court orders together would have produced larger yields to begin with.

The prevention of violence should have been only a natural procedure, not an extraordinary feat to shout about. But this is the 1961 South, still not accentuating the positive, neither eliminating the negatives; just moping along, messing around with the in-betweens.

The day is not yet that I can sing of the "perfected' South with its "goodwill" that is allowable of nothing bad. It will come soon, I hope. But I sing today of Freedom Riders, of Sit-In-ers, of CORE, NAACP, SCLC, SCEF, and all those who STAND today that others may SING tomorrow.

# A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THUS FAR the Kennedy Administration has captured the public imagination by its vigor and apparent aggressiveness.

The man appears to have a deep grasp on the matters before him, and he shows no signs of hesitating on a decision or giving his views in a frank and positive manner.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

His manner in speaking out about the segregated Militia passing in review before him, and his forthright position on the controversial Centennial Celebration in South Carolina, is to be commended by all.

And segregationists find no hint of compromise in his position on the main issue of school desegregation.

He has, it seems, committed his administration to the business of at least moving ahead with this segregation business. His executive order on job opportunities provides a good basis for getting somewhere in this area; and I believe it will be pushed with zeal.

■

**GOD KNOWS** His own purposes. But everyone had at some time prayed that the last administration would have said and done something tangible, since this freedom issue is the greatest in the world. Lovers of freedom feel at least, that showers from Heaven have begun to come down, and that maybe this old earth will be saturated with human decency, elements of love and brotherhood, and fair play.

This is not to praise Kennedy too highly—for every good gift comes down from above. And his tenure is just begun in a field that is white and ready to harvest.

New brooms are supposed to sweep clean, and where so little has been done for so long, any little may appear to be large. It may be too much to expect Kennedy to be a Cure-All and to Do All. The basic job is still ours to do. You and I must do the perennial and lasting task of pointing out that discrimination is wrong and not to be forever tolerated by us.

We must do the arduous tasks of STANDING for RIGHTS, speaking out with unbated voices. We must create locally the conditions which call for national action — an arousement of the sleeping consciousness of this nation.

Be strong, we are not here to play. This is a job for Frontiersmen who are as valiant as the Founding Fathers. We are not in a picnic; we are in a fight. There is much work to be done.

■

**EVEN NOW,** there are signs of insidious procrastination growing within this Administration.

Recently, the Justice Department has given notices that it will seek to work out problems with and by consent of the State officials. Now what does that mean in a state like Alabama, where Governor Patterson has graduated from some institution with a Ph.D. in the psychology of hate and racism?

Where he has openly promised to be one of the first ones raising hell against court ordered integration?

A state where the Governor has said that integration will come over his dead body?

How will Robert Kennedy deal with "Pat" and others like him? How can they deal with those rabid plantation owners in the Black Belt, where Negroes are not allowed to speak-let alone vote. I have been told that in this bright day.

Some Negroes in the backwoods places are not allowed to come into town.

**THUS WE** view with caution the supposed agreement by the state Atty. General to allow the Justice Department to look at Jefferson County records.

Will it be a whitewash? Here there are over 225,000 Negroes in the County, and the press gave yesterday their voting strength as approximately 14,000.

This is out of the total number of 140,000. These figures are cited to show the gravity of the problems we face.

We shall see what we shall see. But let us hope always that men will learn to "do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God."

Our prayers and hopes ride with this administration.

# A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

ONE HEARS many statements these days which border on utter stupidity.

Maybe it is because of the frustrations of this hour—both those which result from the foreign fronts around the world, and the ones coming from our inability to quickly settle this segregation question.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

Even now, 100 years later some of the smoke of battle still hovers over the South Carolina Front, as the Centennial celebrations abound, both within the segregated areas of the city and the integrated naval base there.

For one thing, former Secretary and former Supreme Court Justice, James F. Byrnes, gave one of his piously inarticulate speeches, in which he sought to show that the South is still being punished for buying and maintaining slaves durin slave period; that the were already on the way t.v-ards eventual deliverance by the Southerners themselves; and that, being so pressed today by other sections, the South is unable to give attention and solutions to problems commensurate with their natural ability.

■

**TO THAT** I would simply say that I, for one—and I'm sure there are millions — am very glad that Mr. Byrnes falls completely in the category of "The Former" in all his activities but speaking. And even here, his are the reflections of a bygone age, the echoes of a dying order.

It is perfectly clear that slavery would be here now if it had been left to the mercenaries of the South; that the heart of the South still is in basic rebellion against the real purposes of the United States; and that a Reconstruction is just now getting under way in accordance with the great principles of America.

Not to be forgotten also, is the fact that Mr. Byrnes was so very efficient and capable that Mr. Truman had to remind him that the President is the chief maker of foreign policy, and finally had to "accept" his resignation.

■

**I SHUDDER** to think of what would-or would not—have happened if Byrnes were still a member of the Supreme Court; especially since the Court is called upon more than ever to give interpretations to a wider range of touchy issues on constitutional matters. As sure as there was one day "war in Heaven," there would be war on the bench. And the country would be aghast and even more divided than now.

Another silly statement was made by our Representative in Congress, George Huddleston (who incidentally is clamoring for votes this year). An editorial in the April 12 B'ham Post-Herald backs him up in asserting that it would be a foolish thing to give self-rule to the people in the District.

The reasoning behind both Huddleston and the editor is that the Negroes now make up a majority in Washington.

The editor has it that the court decision of 1954 drove most of the whites out of Washington; and it would be unwise to turn the Capitol over to Negroes.

■

**WHEN SO-CALLED** wise men make silly statements, they usually are sillier than those made by simple-minded men.

These gentlemen forget that the basic issues of the hour must be declared irrespective of color. They forget—or just don't want to remember—that a majority of the world is colored.

They forget that a black vote counts now as much as any other vote—both in the United Nations, and in a ballot box.

They might remind themselves that it may look silly for white men in Washington to be calling for freedom in Black Congo while denying the VOTE to both black and white in the District of Columbia.

Are these not admissions that white men still have not learned to accept black men as brothers, and that in some respects, some white men in this country are arrayed against black men?

And while we argue about whether or not men should be really free, Russia has shot a man into space and brought him back to earth again.

■

**I WOULDN'T** wish men like Huddleston, Byrnes, Eastland, etc., would be shot into space, (space might be contaminated also), but I do hope and pray that some way might be found to elevate their thinking a little. higher.

Of course I think that "lowering" them out of high office would do much toward lifting their minds, and also help others like them who are guilty of thinking backwards while pretending to be looking forward.

# A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

"IN ME the will to be free has prevailed over all other emotions." So spoke Gen. Romulo of the Philippines, and presently head of the United Nations' special session of the 15th General Assembly, on the "Today" show, March 6.

I frequently consider this to be one of the finest statements I have heard from a foreign diplomat. And Romulo has meant so very much to his people and to the world.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

The statement reflects adequately, my feeling and I believe, of my fellow sufferers in the South. More than that, it seems to be the mood of the peoples of the world and the order of the day. While this was a good statement, it was not the only thing I noted in Mr. Romulo's interview.

■

**I WAS PARTICULARLY** moved by his size up of the United States as it is viewed by Asian peoples.

He told the audience in no unflinching terms that the race problem is uppermost in the Asian mind. And that is not changed by other pressing conditions in the world. Of course, he was glad that conditions have changed in the United States since he first visited here 40 years ago! 'Twould be terrible indeed if they hadn't!

But the fact that racism is a fact in 20th century America was cause of greatest concern.

This contradicts the white Southern politician's words that the race problem does not reflect other men's views of the U. S. It also serves notice in an effective way that we cannot for long gloss over this evil. I could also see the depth of thought in the Asiatic mind from some other phrases of Mr. Romulo. "Americans are too anxious to be loved"; and "You try too hard to be popular." "You should strive to be respected by following the libertian principles upon which you have become great. In acting for the world, declare and stick to the principles which made America great, and depart not from them, no matter what."

■

**WHAT SOBER** and sound advice to this impure democracy which seeks to make the world safe for democracy! What words of wisdom for our statesmen who seek without apparent success to contain the menace of communism! What a challenge to the future of our country!

It may be that we are at last beginning to move forward in a positive way under the new Administration. Mr. Kennedy, with his Executive Order barring discrimination in Government contracts and subcontracts, is one of the boldest and most needed things of the moment. And I, for one, was happy to read that he said he thus commits his Administration to freedom and human decency.

I am glad to live in times as these. I'm sure that it would be nice not to have the problem we face on racism. But I am certain of the feeling it gives to know at long last, we are moving ahead.

■

**I HAVE BEEN** slow to join others—feeling just as keenly as I do about freedom—in criticizing Mr. Kennedy.

The closeness of the election did not bring forth an overriding mandate. Only the awesome burden of responsibility, and the dedication to duty. I do no now profess to know what will be in the future.

But if Mr. Kennedy continues to do in a positive manner as he has started on this civil rights thing, history will have to accord him the place of one of the truly greats: one who saw the need of his country, and fulfilled the need. God be with Mr. Kennedy and the country.

And may Ike continue to have good health for the only thing he knows—golf

# A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

I CAN'T HELP feeling that the sixties will be the decade in which not only the issue of full freedom and human dignity will be settled once and for all, but also in which the psychological aspects of the hot and cold war issues will be swayed on the side of those wishing for justice, brotherhood, and humanitarian ideals.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

It may not be readily discerned by all, but these two basic issues run parallel through the fabric of our deepest endeavors, and yet the last one is dependent—in the final analysis upor the settlement of the first.

This may sound like so much wishful thinking, or whistling in the dark, by one who, but for the grace of God, would have been made bitter because of the brutal experiences he faced fighting for freedom.

One, who but for the faith of the Bible and the founding fathers, would be an utter pessimist and cynic, because of the surrounding walls of demagogery, political chicanery, and official despotism, found in Birmingham and certain other places in this Southland.

Even this week, a young white minister was run out of Tuscaloosa by the KKK for holding an interracial meeting in his church

■

**IT MAY SOUND** like wishful thinking too, when viewed against the somber background of events in the unsettled world today.

I mean Laos, where the Administration — slightly more than two months old—has felt compelled to stand firm even if it means war.

Here, we may have to go again into another Korea-type action to show the world that we are in dead earnest about this freedom and independence business.

I mean Africa—the Congo, —where we are at last supporting a coalition of all the factions of leadership; thus bracing ourselves against the spread of Russian influence. (I should add here that Lumumba would be alive today if we had been this positive some time ago.)

Still, in Africa, we are having to abandon the ring of military bases with which we have boasted that we had ringed the Soviet Union.

■

**WE NEED NOT** to go into the space lag, or the development of missiles, to further point out what some may view as a basis for extreme conservatism. But a closer look would show that by the very acknowledgment of the existence of grevious problems, and a will to seek a just and equitable solution to each of them, we address ourselves directly to the hearts of our world fellowmen in an undisputable manner.

And no propaganda can refute our stand in siding with the aspirations of the rising peoples of the world. And our determination to stand as their big brother, and a champion of their dreams is admirable.

In short, militarism is on the way out. Big bases and big bombs have no real big meaning to the majority of the world's people today. If America and Russia wipe themselves out, the world will still go on—not as well, perhaps, but survive. I can never feel as if God has given the total destiny of this world into the hands of these two giants.

■

**RECALL, IF YOU PLEASE,** that there have been many giants among nations since the Garden of Eden.

Empires have come and gone. France, Italy, Germany, Russia, England, Egypt, Babylon—just to name some—are all a part of history. The seas gave England no permanent mastery of the world, and the air has allowed America only a short duration of domination.

Now we have gone above the air, way out into space. And I doubt if space will give any of us special favor. No, the battle is really in each of our hearts. "The kingdom of God is within you."

So, being mindful of our sins —past and present—let us strive to be worthy of our world-wide calling. Let us clean up our house, and open wide the doors of liberty—in fact, as well as in words.

# A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THE YULETIDE SEASON, with all its warmth and inspiration, has gone, leaving in its wake the many exchanges and pledges of good will among mankind. The kindnesses and enlarged charities which existed for the moment will, for the most part, be gone also. And men, forgetful of their proclamations, as usual, will resort again to the daily routine of getting by, of having their own way, of using one another for personal gain.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

In place of exalting the Christ-Child, and seeking to do Him supreme homage, as was done by the Wise Men of old, modern men will resort to the usual bickering, the usual way of living, the usual prejudices. Little men of this world who gladly celebrated the living fact that the birth of Christ meant "God with us," will again act as if God has either forgotten us, or has never been with us.

■

**THIS SEEMS** to me to be the tragedy of Christmas in our day of crass materialism. Men give gifts but do not really receive the Gift of God. Buying, selling, wearing, eating and drinking become the main events of the season. Christians become so entangled with these things that the downtown merchants do more advertising about Christ than they. Small wonder that the usual slogan of modern day Yuletide seasons is "Keep Christ In Christmas."

These thoughts ought to be in our minds as the new year dawns with its signals of new beginnings. America will begin the year with the inaugural of a new Chief Executive who calls upon the country to face New Frontiers.

A formidable task lies before our new leader and those whom he has chosen to assist him. With upheavals prevailing around the world, and with unrest at its height in America, I say we need God with us Now! I hope the new President will be able to persuade Americans to go back to the religious ideals of our Founding Fathers. I hope he can inspire that same zeal and devotion which they had in beating back the wilds of both man and nature in the 17th and 18th centuries.

It may be easy to get men to begin thinking again on grand ideas, but can men be inspired to ACT on their ideas? What will Mr. Kennedy do to overcome men like those in the governorship and legislature of Louisiana? What will Kennedy do to prevent irresponsible statements and acts by men like Patterson of Alabama, who says that the trouble in New Orleans is nothing compared to what will happen when integration comes to Alabama? Patterson openly says that "There'll be hell to pay," and that he'll be the first one stirring up trouble.

■

**WE COULD GO ON** and multiply in our imagination the trouble which may arise in Atlanta, Houston, Dallas, and countless other places. And trouble probably will come because the last administration developed no positive approach to dealing with such things. Three years after Little Rock is New Orleans, with the President not even appealing for law and order. Lack of schooling for children in integration crises has not brought action by the President or Congress.

Kennedy has indeed inherited trouble! He will need not only wit, and moral courage, but he will need the prayers and POSITIVE backing of the whole country. Legal actions must be speeded up to bring about freedom in America—and soon! But moral action by the leader of our nation must be exerted at once.

■

The Yuletide season with its warmth has gone. The new year is upon us. It is my prayer and hope that men will remember some of the things felt, said and done this season. Maybe in this way God will be with us, as we seek to lead the world. Maybe with the newness of the year and leadership, we can get somewhere!

# A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

AN ARTICLE in the March 21 issue of Christian Economics by Francis Kettaneh, entitled "Youth, Faith and Charity," strikes me as posing some interesting points about Americans of the Twentieth Century.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

It raises questions in the inquiring mind concerned with our world standing, for it clearly states that though we are a youthful nation, boasting of our religious ideals and faith, and given to an extreme degree of charity, we are nevertheless not loved by the masses of peoples in the world.

It says that "many Americans traveling overseas, are impulsive, intolerant, boastful, brash, tactless, and often speak out of turn; their main sin is that they are impatient to the point of discourtesy, forgetting that to the immutable East, years, generations and even centuries mean little." Here he seems to indicate this is because of our youth, or our riches. He goes further to indicate that Americans are very religious, but are apt "to become sanctimonious and self-righteous," thinking that "who is not for me is against me."

■

**KETTANEH ADMITS** that Americans are "certainly the most kind-hearted and generous nation this world has ever seen," having given over 80 billions in the last 15 years.

But he thinks these gifts were "forced," and "in the shape of ill-conceived and insufficiently studied projects, down the throats of unwilling or unprepared countries . . . "

Having had the privilege of traveling overseas in 1959, I can say that much of the criticism of some traveling Americans is justified. It may be a bad thing to go into someone else's house and act as though you are the only one there.

The problem may be a lack of understanding of the Euro-Asian mind and philosophy; and having been used to "mass doings" and "quick doings," we readily show our displeasure at slothfulness, etc.

■

**YET, OUR PROBLEM** is to win FRIENDS. And it is a fact that most of the world's people have less than we, and think differently from us.

There may be something to the thought that the man who has nothing usually thinks the man with something is a crook, and mistakes his charity. As to our religion and faith, our practices of them can be used against us.

We are, in fact, "a house divided," and, in many respects, because of racial origin and discriminatory practices, we are, "brother against brother."

Thank God, we are at last on the move toward "straightening up," and a better understanding in the world. The new Administration will surely lift us; and with our facing up to the segregation question in the South, we may yet turn the tide.

■

**THE ARTICLE** in point makes me reflect on what a young Austrian woman said to me one day in the little village of Irdning, Austria. Pointing to the 7,500-foot mountain in the rear and the rolling slopes where conquerors of renown have trodden, she said to me: "You Americans have only youth; you have no history, no past in which to take pride."

And referring to the conduct of certain young Americans at the Vienna Youth Festival, she said, "and you have no culture."

No American likes to be slapped in the face, regardless of circumstances, and I reminded her of the American Revolution, Valley Forge, the Civil War, and the World War, in which this young country saved her country.

I pointed out that we shed more blood to do it again in World War II. And we are willing again to do so.

■

**OF COURSE,** I was thinking that at the same time, I was stopping with a white Austrian woman and her son who had never seen a Negro—which I could not do in Birmingham.

And worse, in seven countries where we traveled, no one frowned at us—until we got into New York, facing the burly customs officer, who apparently thought it was his job to impress persons coming in just how tough the U. S. really it!

We should read what people say about us; we should PRAY and correct them!

# A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

WHILE AN optimistic person like myself can always find some things about which to be cheerful—even in a fogged racial climate like Birmingham, there are also those things which appear to make us be losing ground in the fight for human rights and civil liberties.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

Matters which are concerned with basic freedoms are indeed precious to us who persevere in the struggle; and any setbacks on this road are ground for needless anxiety.

Take, for instance, the recent Supreme Court decision upholding the conviction of Carl Braden on a 5-4 split.

This ruling indicates a serious division of the Justices on the fundamental matters of freedom of speech, and of association.

■

**THE ESSENCE** of the First Amendment can be hazily interpreted when thrown into the witch-hunting backdrop of those "Super-Americans," known as the Un-American Committee. Yet, a man must go to jail for a year. And there are others who have done nothing more un-American than oppose these pseudo-patriotic souls who squander the taxpayers' money hunting for supposed witches in other people's closets; and being possessed with schismatic strains of mind, they declare themselves capable judges of what has transpired and what should come to pass in anybody's mind.

It is to be recalled that Southerners form a majority of most of the backward committees.

Many of them can't distinguish between communism and integration. So anybody believing in or working for integration MUST be PINK, RED, or at least BRAINWASHED and UNWITTING.

**THIS IS NOT** to uphold any shady deals, past or present, of anybody; for I believe fully in the U. S. Constitution. But we cannot hold with those who persecute people for their THOUGHTS in the '40's; or who think that a refusal to talk to modern day false patriots indicates that a man has something to hide.

For while the committee ACTS in the name of Americanism, it really does the work of McCarthy and the Gestapo.

Braden, in this case, only told the committee that his beliefs were none of their business. This was deliberately done because the committee itself is unconstitutional. For here is an arm of Congress, wrongfully set up and maintained, using the courts to do its dirty work.

Carl was really held in contempt by contemptuous men, and the courts will send him to jail. If this is not stopped, the end will be chaos!

■

**WHO WILL** be next called and smeared, or jailed? And for what? Is it not a fundamental principle of our country that the courts are to punish for crimes—and that when proven guilty?

I believe that Negroes and liberal whites must stand together and fight this crime in a high place! Civil liberties and civil rights are contained in one package. human freedom, justice, and fair play.

Nothing less can be American! There should be a groundwell of wrath and indignation against this sentence.

■

**ON THE OTHER** side of the coin, we are proud of the new active Justice Department, which is searching out the hideous and contemptible practices visited upon defenseless Negroes by police powers!

I understand they are looking into past records; and the Civil Rights Commission is doing likewise. Well, there is a voluminous record of police brutality, interference, and miscarriages of justice here in this city.

More power for the Departments of Government in their protection of peoples' rights. Our prayers for the courts, that they rule according to the letter of the law of the land.

That's all we want and ask for. And my prayers and support for Braden, his family, and others similarly situated. I hope they have your prayers too! We all need them.

# A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

**AFTER NEARLY** five years of untold sacrifice, suffering and misery, Birmingham Negroes are entering upn the the break-through phase of this dismal barrier to racial progress in this city. It has been an extremely tough fight, with our having to endure the awesome power of police, led by the famous "Bull" Connor, who boasts of having arrested Glen Taylor when Taylor was a United States Senator. The state and city courts have appeared to be united in a giant conspiracy, charging Negroes with all sorts of violations in a hopeless effort to hold back the surging tide of freedom.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

There have been times when I have been led to believe the Federal courts here in Birmingham were also a part of this conspiracy. Two quick rulings in September of 1959 almost asked Negroes to be acquiescent and accept voluntary segregation. Really, I don't know of a single case in which the two judges here have ruled directly in favor of integration. I was told the other day the the University of Alabama was ordered open to Autherine Lucy in 1956 only after higher courts had ordered the District Court to enjoin the university. This is not to impugn the men who occupy the judicial bench; it is simply to state facts.

■

**BUT LAST** week history was made, and the pendulum began to swing the other way. After the Terminal Station case was dismissed by Judge Lynne, the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans wrote a sweeping decision, directing the district judge to "obliterate the supposed distinction between interstate and intrastate passengers."

This means all the signs must come down, and that police must cease checking tickets of Negroes, causing them to "establish their right to be in the waiting room marked for white."

The court further said that Negroes were entitled to be free from such discrimination. It found, by Commissioner Bull Connor's own words, that the city was violating the 14th Amendment. Mr. Connor had attempted to state that the police department had no policy, and had not ordered the arrests of Mr. and Mrs. Carl Baldwin, the incident which brought on the lawsuit. But the big lie did not work, and the court cited his remarks and those of his officers to show discrimination.

I cannot tell you just how glad I am, personally, about this decision. I cannot explain to you the jubilation which swept downtrodden hearts of thousands of black folks in this town. The ruling ordered the injunctions against the Terminal Co., the City Commission and the Alabama Public Service Commission.

■

**PUBLIC SERVICE** Commissioner C. C. (Jack) Owens had boasted that he had ordered the intra and interstate signs put up after the I. C. C. issued a ban on segregation in interstate travel. But tonight Jack Owens is as powerless as a hound dog with his teeth pulled. Bull Connor is as quiet as a sleeping lamb. And democracy goes rolling along!

We feel sure that victory is on its way. We hope to win other cases this summer, such as the School and Parks cases. For as soon as we can get such victories, we can speedily assure that the blackness of this hour is giving way to the brilliance now shining all over this world.

31a 1961

# A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

TENT City, U. S. A. is located just a few miles outside Somerville, Tenn. It is one of the realities in the American dilemma, despite what the Mayor of Somerville, or anyone else says. It is there because the good white folks of the area have gotten together to avenge themselves upon their helpless Negro sharecroppers for getting and exercising their right to vote. Being the first to vote since Reconstruction, these Negroes are also the first to feel the severe backlash of venom poured out by those who still believe in segregation more than life itself.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

It is good that the TV cameras have shown a glimpse of these things to the nation. And yet, I don't believe men far removed from the Deep South fully realize what's happening. One has to experience these things first hand and at sight to become shocked and horrified beyond words. You would hardly think that this could be found in America in 1961. But neither did men think the riots of Clinton, Tenn.; B'ham, Ala.; Little Rock, Ark., and New Orleans, La., would take place in a religious nation, which, "Under God," guarantees that all are equal before the law.

■

ATTY. H. L. BRADLEY, president of the Fair Share Organization in Gary, Ind., Mr. Charlie Brooks of B'ham, and I went up there a few days ago with a station wagon full of clothes donated by the Alabama Christian Movement For Human Rights, and we were almost made to cry at what we saw. There are men, women, and children, living and sleeping in the crudest conditions. The cold was that day—and is now—biting, to say the least. These poor people are sleeping on floors of dirt, with trenches dug around the tents to keep rain water from seeping in.

Penniless, hungry, and destitute, these poor people who have given many of their best years working for the fortunes of whites now are turned out worse than work animals which have lost their usefulness. Still worse, they were not allowed to keep any of what they made this year.

The organization there, headed by John McFerrin, a veteran of war, is to be commended for its spirit and courage. It is worthy of all friends can do. It is gratifying to learn of the large contributions in money and clothes being given by friends who care from all over this land. A check from our local organization is now in the mails. God bless those who are giving now to help these poor people have the barest of necessities of life. Another type of prayer is in order here: "Father, forgive those who would cause such misery in weather like this." . . . FOR THEY KNOW NOT WHAT THEY DO. And they care not what they do to America.

■

**THE TRUTH IS** that many whites care nothing for the Negro, and would do anything to hurt and hinder him—even ruin the country in the process! Hate abounds in the South more than many supposed at first. But we must always believe the Scriptures that "Where sin (hate) abounds grace does much more abound." It is time for whites who love the Lord (and humanity) to stand up and be counted for His cause. It is time for all Negroes everywhere to prove to the world that they are worthy of justice and humanitarianism by standing UP and together—and demanding the immediate end to ALL racial discrimination in this country.

A final thought here. The temporary injunction is at best only to prevent more misery now. Objectively thinking, we doubt any court—in the absence of a national emergency—could permanently make a person let anyone live upon his own property. Law can go only so far for the Negro or anyone. While this immediate situation is horrible, it nevertheless serves as an eye-opener to the nation—and especially to Negroes. God still moves in mysterious ways, His wonders to perform.

Maybe this is to keep the country from relaxing, thinking we are making "great strides forward." Be not deceived! I'm afraid America has deceived and fooled herself; and God is letting her reap the whirlwind of her folly!

A Southerner Speaks By F. L. Shuttlesworth

LAST WEEK some strange things took place in my native state of Alabama. For those of the old order it was the revisitation of the spirit of the Civil War. For us who lead the fight for human rights and dignity, it was a week of anticipation, as we pondered what would be next in the attachment of cars, property, etc., resulting from the half million dollar judgment rendered in the Sullivan case.



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth

My, my, what a week it was! In the first place, over 10,000 of Alabama's fine white citizens stood in the rain for hours to hear repeated in their ears the words Jeff Davis spoke 100 years ago as he undertook the leadership of the South. Standing in the same spot where Davis stood, a famous actor intoned the oracles of the Lost Cause. Dressed in the garb of Jefferson Davis, and sounding so much like him, one got the impression that he made many wish they could fight the war over again—hoping, of course, to win it this time, and reverse the course of history.

■

**ALABAMA'S RABID** Governor Patterson distinguished himself as usual, dressed in Confederate outfit, marching at the head of those who paraded as soldiers of that war, he really looked as if he might get up nerve to declare the war anew! One thing is certain: this time, his uniform matched his mind; both were outdated . . . and addressed themselves to the Cause which has been lost for 100 years! Governor Almond was there, telling them that he had only recently lost the new war against the United States in Virginia, where his massive resistance became the massive flop. He admitted that a state-wide system of private schools would not work. But I don't think Governor Patterson paid him any attention. Amid the background of long beards grown for the occasion and battle uniforms, I presumed he was having his day.

But it was not a festive occasion for Ralph Abernathy or Lowery, or me, or Seay, who were having their property seized by those wearing beards and celebrating an inglorious loss. Abernathy's car was due to be sold on the 22nd, mine on the 28th, and other papers of seizure were in the making.

■

**THE WORSE** thing however, was the announced intention of the state to sell some heir property of the Abernathy family in Marengo County—the heart of the Black Belt—just because Rev. Abernathy happens to be one of about 13 heirs. These 380 acres of property represent the life savings of a sharecropper who scraped and worked and saved as best he could. Then he passed on to Glory, leaving this, he hoped, for the security and enjoyment of his 12 children.

The children felt about it the same way. As I understand it, the property is a family pool —whoever lives on it keeps it up, and develops it as best he can, so that it may pass on to their children behind them. Thus about four nice country homes have been erected on this property. But its value cannot be reckoned in dollars and cents! This is a precious family heritage now threatened by the state!

And Ralph Abernathy has never received one cent from the property! I suppose his hope was to one day pass on, improved, to his three children his small share. It would be tragic if the New York Committee and Friends of Freedom would not now pitch in to keep those poor Black Belt children from losing all because Ralph happens to be a Fighter for Freedom!

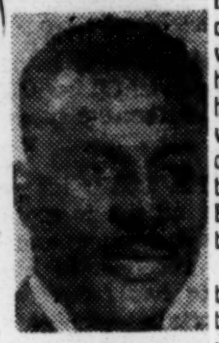
This is tragic; but future columns will deal in detail with the expected losses of us, Lowery, Seay, Shuttlesworth. Having given all, we stand now to lose what security we might have provided for our families. Abernathy's needs is critical NOW. Ours is becoming more critical by the hour. What will America do?

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 188

# A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

INTEGRATION HAS come, indeed, to Georgia. At the 175-year-old University of Georgia, the two young, Negro people are going about their classes as though they had been there a long time. The state's last legal barrier to peaceful integration has been swept away swiftly, by the Federal Courts, and those who had sworn that integration never would come during their administration, have decided to accept the inevitable.



Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

The Klan's brief flurry of violence, which resulted in the expulsion of the two Negroes, "for their safety," has petered out, without any lingering trace. No Klansmen are parading around either the campus or through the streets of Athens, Ga. The hoped-for confusion inside the school has not materialized. There is no yelling, jeering or threatening today, at this great university. In other words, all seems to be quiet on the Eastern Front.

■

**AT LEAST,** this is good for America. This is the way democracy is supposed to deal with evil men in a critical moment. It attempts to invalidate all the ideals we hold dear. The courts acted with incredible swiftness. The laws which the legislature refused to rescind, were swept aside with a single judicial stroke! After years of planning, maneuvering and chicanery, Georgia has surrendered, again, to the United States! Negroes are declared by the courts to be citizens of the USA, with the same rights and privileges as others! Also, it is wonderful to read that Negroes have begun, already, to apply at Georgia Tech.

In Alabama, we have yet a long way to go. It is believed—and hoped, sincerely—that there will be applications to the University of Alabama and Auburn THIS year. The doors already are opened, and have been since Autherine Lucy enrolled there in 1956. Some have talked of this for a long time; but I believe it is coming, soon. It is my opinion that loud-mouthed Governor Patterson thinks he has the whole Negro race afraid of him and the KKK. Openly, he has threatened to close the university, and to "be the first one stirring up trouble." I think it's time to make Old Pat produce . . . And NOW is the time to do it!

It was my happy privilege to be guest speaker at the third anniversary of the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference, headed by the courageous Rev. Kelly Miller Smith. Theirs is one of the truly few community groups where advanced planning is done for the elimination of segregation. Being there and understanding the situation, one learns that plans were made to attack lunch-counter segregation, even before the student demonstrations began. With studious Rev. James Lawson teaching the philosophy of non-violence, Nashvillians were prepared (as were no others) to bring about the heartening results achieved. And when one talks with the other associates of Rev. Mr. Smith, as Rev. Mr. Vivian, who speaks with a flowing, golden voice, one sees that which is to be desired in all Southern cities.

■

**THIS IS NOT** to say that ALL Nashvillians are in the Movement (or that there were not, already, some advantages peculiar to Nashville alone. This is not to take any credit away from the students, either. It is to say that all parts of the pattern fitted themselves together when there was a job to do. And everything worked superbly) from the workshop to the meetings with the mayor and officials.

I thought it wonderful that these people could hold repeated conferences with their officials. Here in B'ham, Negroes are welcome, only to clean the floors (or something on that order). The city fathers answer no letters nor petitions, and hold NO conferences with ANYBODY (white or black) on the matter of ending segregation. Yet, they are vaunted and praised in our papers as great leaders of our generation. The zoo gets more attention from the City Commission than Negroes. And all those who advocate integration are called foolish and unthinking by those who would blot out the light.

# A Southerner Speaks

By F. L. Shuttlesworth

THE Congo murder of Patrice Lumumba is as disturbing to colored Americans as it is to the diplomats of the United Nations. Becoming increasingly more interested in world affairs, and especially concerned and anxious about the progress of the newly emerging African nations, we view as alarming and despicable any developments or impediments which would stand in their way to freedom, dignity and unity, Negroes know only too well the many things that can be thrown in the way of progress by those who not only talk out of both sides of their mouths, but also actually work insidious plots against that which they are supposed to seek and uphold.



Rev. E. L. Shuttlesworth

In the first place, it ought to be said plainly, that the so-called free nations of the West must be careful in dealing with the Africans; for being former masters, most of their actions and words will long be held suspect. And any agreement or arrangement, open or otherwise, which limits the steady progress of the new nations gives further grounds for ill will and suspicion.

■

**IT CANNOT BE** truthfully said that the United States is above reproach in its conduct or relations with the black men of the Dark Continent. We have been wishy-washy on certain issues concerning them where we should have been strong. And in certain matters, we have been proclaimers of freedom for Africans while we have supported colonialist tactics of France and others. More than this, we have never yet been as forthright with the Belgians as we ought have been—pointing them out in emphatic terms as the institutors of division, and the arch foe of liberty and unity in the Congo.

Equally as bad is the fact that democratic nations have not discovered a positive way of dealing with the menace of communism in the Congo nor anywhere else effectively. Thus, keeping the Russians out was the principal goal, even if it meant deposing Lumumba—who had demonstrated the only capability to unify the Congo—and tacitly tolerating Belgian continued stay and interference in Katanga, the main province needed for the stabilization of the Congo economy.

Kasavubu has been a weakling from the start; Tshombe has been in rebellion (with Belgian support) since the start of independence; and Mobutu emerged as a strong man because he served imperialist desires that Lumumba be kept down. Does anyone really believe that the UN forces could not have freed Lumumba before his murder? If they could help the whites to flee, and stop rioting between opposing tribesmen, it is inconceivable that the UN should not have rescued the premier at once.

**NOW EVERYONE** realizes the mistake. But the one man is dead who could have effectively served the cause of freedom. Others may rise, but surely we must be first on hand as a friend—seeking to help and guide, rather than seeking alignment. People who are hungry and not yet stable rarely form effective alliances. And the cry of the new nations from Ghana until now is that they wanted "positive neutralism and non-alignment." I don't think it will change soon, for they are not nearly as concerned as we about the hydrogen bomb.

They may be more concerned than many in this country and the West about real freedom and human dignity. Mistakes of the past may rightly be assigned to Ike—who always came from behind; fast maybe, but far too late. Let us hope that a new administration may lead out in the Congo, in all Africa, in South America, in Asia, and—above all—in the Southland, in such a way that the guarantees of freedom are so strong that its subjects will, by their acceptance and practice of freedom, erect the only real barrier to communism. By really giving men the light of freedom will communism be rejected, and fall of its own weight.

# Report from Europe

By OLLIE STEWART

PARIS — Gospel singer Mahalia Jackson arrived in England right after Easter for a series of concerts in the United Kingdom. Following her appearance in Britain she has been booked for Paris — at the Olympia Music Hall.

French singer Edith Piaf has been holding forth at the Olympia since Christmas week, but the theater now has a policy of presenting America stars in special Saturday concerts, one at six and the other at midnight.

MAHALIA IS scheduled for one of these Saturday specials. Lionel Hampton and band were recently presented in this manner. It's a gimmick that juices up the box office for the week, and works like this:

When the theater is emptied, after a Piaf performance, persons holding tickets for the special attraction are admitted. They hear Hampton or whoever is on the bill, then clearout for the regular show. This is over at eleven-thirty, and another midnight audience is admitted.

* * *

MAHALIA JACKSON had a bad time when she came to Paris some years ago. First, she was booked into the Salle Gaveau, a small place that's better for a violinist or a pianist than for a full-voiced singer like Mahalia.

She was well received, however. But before she could finish her tour and get back to Paris for a second appearance, she became ill —and had to call off the rest of the tour.

Since then her records have sold big all over Europe, and a lot of people have been asking to see her in person again. She will do good business in Europe.

The recent announcement that Tanganyika gets self-government for internal affairs on May 1, and full independence on December 23, is being heartily welcomed in Paris. And I have a personal reason for being pleased.

* * *

LAST YEAR about this time, when I met the new Cardinal Rugambwa in Rome, I hesitated to ask him about the political situation in his country. And he forstalled the question in a press conference by stating that "things were going very well and looked extremely hopeful."

As the only colored cardinal, I am glad that he will soon be living in a free nation. He has been out of the news for months, but I imagine he will speak with more authority when his country achieves independence.

* * *

JULIUS NYERERE, Tanganyika's Chief Minister, is known in the USA. About the time I was in Rome, Nyerere was traveling in the United States. He made a good impression; and several people passing through Paris from visits to Africa have spoken well of him as a leader.

I'll admit it. I had to look up Tanganyika on a map before I had my interview with Cardinal Rugambwa. I didn't even know where it was. But now I not only have a mental picture of its location, but know something about its importance.

* * *

TANGANYIKA produces more sisal (for ropes and such things) than any other country in the world. Dick Campbell also told me that it grows one of the finest coffees in the world. Considerable cotton too. And diamonds.

Liberia for rubber. Ghana for cocoa. Nigeria for minerals. Tanganyika for sisal.

These are but a few of the products coming from Africa that have a world market. Whether production and and quality will go up as Africa emerges from the old era to the new, nobody can say. But it should be interesting to watch developments in the next decade.

# Report from Europe

By OLLIE STEWART

PARIS — The Rev. Martin Luther King arrived in London a short time ago, and whether he came to Europe for business reasons or a vacation, I'm glad he crossed the ocean. Just getting away from stench of racial prejudice should give him a big boost.

"We have made progress in race relations," Dr. King said in a BBC interview — and he didn't give the credit to any political party. "We believe we can win equal rights by a non - violent fight," he said in a calm, impressive voice. "There are many groups working together."

* * *

AND HE LET the BBC man know that the fight isn't over. "We've made progress," Dr. King repeated "but there is still a lot to be done!"

That was the part I liked best. Quite understandably, many people in Europe get the idea that since the Supreme Court handed down its momentous decision in 1954, all school segregation is over and done with. They just figure that if the law of the land says something, the law will be obeyed.

They are wrong. But then they've had no experience with the kind of people who control the law - enforcement machinery in the South.

Frequently, I make a try at explaining southern "justice," but I always say it in front that nobody expects it (the law or the explanation) to make sense.

* * *

GOT YOUR fallout shelter yet?

The way I hear it, lots of people in the USA are breaking up their bank accounts to pay something down on a shelter to protect them from the 50 - megaton things that Khrushchev is tossing around.

Well, I tell you, neighbors, it might be better to throw a party and do away with your cash by eating and drinking your fill. This way, at least, you'd enjoy your money.

* * *

IF ANYBODY in France is building a bomb shelter, I just haven't heard about it. We French are doing business as usual up on top of the ground, and if you'll pardon my audacity, I suggest you do the same.

Even a $20,000 fall - out shelter is a joke!

And I'll tell you why. If the people at the top go crazy and start triggering these nuclear horrors, you'll be just as safe in your living room as you'll be crouched in some mound of concrete in the backyard.

* * *

IN THE FIRST place, you can't stay in the thing forever. And when you come out — if you live that long — the fall - out will be hovering in the air, just waiting to smack you down.

In the second place, nobody knows enough about the real big bombs that will be dropped, to build you a shelter that will be safe. I don't know much either, but it's in the cards that if things turn sour, some real nasty stuff will be dropped; and no little bitty hole in the ground will save your hide.

* * *

IN EUROPE, where people have been going through wars for generations, they're laughing at the idea of Americans trying to make moles.

They know that when war comes, you get with it and do the best you can. And they remember how useless the Maginot Line turned out to be. A bomb shelter, they say, won't do even half as much good.

# Report from Europe

By OLLIE STEWART

PARIS — Most tourists making a visit to Europe usually spot a habit over on this side that lets them know immediately that they're a long way from home. It's the sight of so many people carrying briefcases.

I may have owned a briefcase at some time in the past — but I know that I've never carried one more than a half dozen times in my life.

Millions of Americans can say they never bothered with briefcases either. Few Europeans can make that claim.

* * *

A BRIEFCASE is a status symbol in most European countries — particularly in France and Germany, with Britain coming in third. And a few years ago a visitor remarked that four out of five Africans he saw in Paris and London were lugging a briefcase.

The explanation for the Africans is fairly simple. The briefcase is a status symbol. The administrators, judges and business men in Egypt, Senegal and Sierra Leone have carried this piece of hand luggage for ages.

AND THE first thing a young man from one of these and other nations longs for is the symbol that shows he's a man of affairs. He buys a briefcase before he buys a good suit.

He has it with him at all times — when he goes to school, to work or just visiting. It seems to be a part of him.

And one of the things I would like most to know is this. Just what is in the average briefcase? It's something that bothers me every time I see one in the hands of one of these bright young men. If he's a lawyer, I imagine he's got legal papers stashed away in it. If a music student, perhaps some opera scores.

But most of them are neither lawyers nor musicians. So what the devil are they carrying?

* * *

WELL, THANKS to a reporter in Berlin, the mystery is partially solved. This nosy newsman has made a great discovery. He has found out that in Germany, at least, most of the briefcases contain a few sandwiches. Lunch, in other words!

Carrying his research further, he found out that some men who looked like diplomats had mostly pin-ups in their briefcases. One or two had a flock of detective stories. And still others had bottles of beer.

That sort of takes care of the Europeans, since it is reasonable to suppose that a lot of Frenchmen and Britishers also carry their lunch in their briefcase.

* * *

BUT WHAT about my African friends? Do they also keep a snack with them at all times, or do they have a few interesting pictures to give them a lift whenever they can sneak a look?

I don't suppose I'll ever really know.

Personally, I prefer pockets. I don't go in so much for nibbling that I have to have a sandwich or a candy bar always handy. I do my reading at home, and I'm too old to get hopped with pin-ups.

* * *

SO, WHAT few things I need with me when I hit the street can be accommodated very easily in the pockets of my coat or trousers. I'll never have the diplomatic look, and I'm not worrying about having somebody mistake me for a big-shot business man.

I'm still remembering the one time I did get a look inside one of a guy's briefcase. He was an American and he didn't have a good zipper on his little leather kit. It fell open while he was visiting me — and the only thing inside was a dirty shirt!

# Worthy Charges Castro Victim Of 'Hatchet Job'

The Afro-American

Baltimore, Md

TUSKEGEE, Ala — The U.S. Government and press are deceiving the American people about Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution, William Worthy, a prize-winning correspondent said at Tuskegee Institute Sunday night.

Worthy, one of three American newsmen to enter Communist China in 1957 against the wishes of the State Department, said that "The American people have been sold an untrue story" of the workings of Prime Minister Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution.

Worthy's lecture here was part of a 16-day southern speaking tour, and sponsored by the school's Entertainment Course program.

* * *

**REFERRING TO** the "untrue story" as a "hatchet job on Castro," he told an audience of about 2,000 that "Cas- has been misinterpreted (by the American press) in the most enormous fashion imagineable."

"Communism is not the issue in Cuba," he said, adding that "the Communist Party in Cuba is very weak." However, Worthy blamed the United States for "identifying everything that represents progress in other countries with Communism."

One of the realities which he U.S must face, he said, is hat "Castro is there to stay. His revolution is meant to overhaul the rotten foundation of the Cuban life," he said. "Castro is a symbol of freedom," he added.

* * *

**RENEWAL OF** the Cuban U.S. geniune friendship rests on "the United States acceptance of the facts of life," Worthy said. "Castro is there to stay," he said, and "the revolution will continue regardless of the thoughts of American people."

The AFRO correspondent also warned that if the Cubans succeed in their struggle for a new standard of living, their pattern of "the Revolution will be duplicated by a dozen or more Latin American countries."



**HOW'S THAT AGAIN?** — Newsman William Worthy gets questioning stare from student editor Vincent McDonald during lively question and answer session following Worthy's lecture at Tuskegee Institute, recently. In his lecture, prize winning reporter Worthy gave the "truth" about Cuban Revolution, charged that American press has reported it inaccurately. Miss Minnie Fells, left, thumbs her notes as other students eagerly listen.

# Pressure Is Necessary To Improve Conditions

The Pittsburgh Courier Pittsburgh, Pa
Sat 4-22-61 P.2

By ANDREW BERNHARD
Editor of the

*EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Bernhard's column is reproduced herewith by the kind permission of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette-Sun Telegraph.*

I GET impatient with those who deem to feel that the American Negro should be less aggressive in his demand for the rights of full citizenship. They believe that, because the Negro today is better off than he was as a slave, he should be content with small gains.

What this attitude toward the Negro's gains ignores is the fact that lack of complete citizenship is an individual problem to the Negro. When we discuss the Negro we are too likely to speak of him as an abstraction. We make the same mistake when we speak of "the rich," or "the workers," or any other group.

Human beings being human beings, no two of them are quite alike. We have no more reason to lump all Negroes together as if they all spoke, thought, and acted alike, than to lump together the white race.

**It is ridiculous for us to tell a Negro college graduate, perhaps a member of one of the learned professions, that he should be content to suffer minor or major discrimination because he is, after all, much better off than was his slave ancestor who toiled in the cotton fields.**

All of us in the United States—except the Indians—came from abroad. Few of our immigrant forbears brought money with them. Yet we don't feel that we should any of us be content to occupy a subordinate position in society because, after all, we are better off than our ancestors.

The people who oppose laws to insure equal treatment to the Negro always prate about "education." By this they mean that slowly the white man will be educated to accept the Negro as a fellow human being, but in the meantime the Negro should not push, should not use the weapon of the law to secure the place in society that his talents, education and skills entitle him.

**Let's face it: It always takes a bit of pressure—often more than a bit—to bring about an amelioration of unsatisfactory conditions.**

The exploiting industrialists of early Nineteenth Century England, who employed children of five and six to work for long hours in factories, did not stop the practice because they became educated away from it. They stopped because the law finally forbade such an outrage.

I doubt that the working man in this country would have reached his present prosperous level if he had not found, in the labor union, a weapon to bring about betterment of his working conditions and wages. Employers have learned to live with organized labor because their employes brought economic pressure, as the Negroes in the South have brought economic pressure to insure equality on buses or in lunchrooms.

**He must be naive who thinks the white people of the South would have granted those concessions voluntarily. There are few individuals who will relinquish a privilege without pressure.**

That intelligent Negroes should resent the humiliating discriminations to which all of them are subjected is not strange. It is more strange that those resentments don't more frequently flare up in blind rage.

We all use pressure of one kind of another to get what we want. We won't get it without pressure. The Negro is learning this.

31a 1961

WHITE (BRUCE GALPHIN)



**Bruce Galphin**

Atlanta Constitution

# Race Patterns Change Rapidly

Thurs 10-26-61 B4

Atlanta, Ga.

The amazing history of the past decade's social revolution in the South for the most part has been written in negative terms. The abrasive resistance to change usually has stolen the headline from the change itself.

Yet in the past 10 years — or more specifically in the seven years since the 1954 school desegregation decision — the traditional patterns of race relations have altered more rapidly than in all the other decades since Emancipation.

Only three states still maintain totally segregated public school systems. The ICC has banned segregation in interstate terminal facilities. Lunchcounters in more than 100 Southern cities have dropped their color bars. Local bus systems, golf courses, libraries, hotels and theaters in many cities have abandoned segregation. The list is long.

The really surprising feature of this revolution is not the violence that has attended the Little Rocks or "freedom rides" but the calmness with which most Southerners have come to accept this inevitable tide of history.

Along with this change has been the intriguing and often amusing recasting of the role of Chief Villain in the drama.

In 1951 the NAACP wore the horns and the pointed tail. Its consistent trips to the courts to challenge segregation laws won it first place in politicians' scare-speeches.

Then came the bus boycotts and the sit-ins, and the new Negro leadership became the villains, castigated for deliberately breaking laws and inciting incidents. (This direct-action short-circuiting of the courts, controversial though it remains, has been highly effective in terms of results.)

The "freedom riders" wore even bigger horns, because they were not local citizens demanding equal rights but "outside agitators." Why, demanded their critics, did they not use the orderly processes of the courts?

Now (with apologies for paraphrasing an idea of our Washington correspondent, Ted Lippman), one can almost imagine the NAACP's Roy Wilkins invited to address a joint session of the Georgia Legislature on "Constitutional Government and States Rights."

**Bruce Galphin**



# Pupil Placement Likely to Remain

The Atlanta Constitution

During the Great Debate of 1958-60, when the fate of public education in Georgia was at stake, the No-Not-One school was arguing that "the NAACP will never be satisfied with 'just a little integration.' (The NAACP never said it would be.)

But now, instead of recalling their predictions in light of recent attacks on the pupil placement plan by the liberals, some of these same opponents are now defending the principle of pupil placement.

Nov. 12 '61

They do it cautiously in terms of praise for the tuition grant program, and Virginia's satisfaction with grants, but the point is there.

And well they might defend it, because pupil placement is a very conservative instrument—a point most state politicians seemed to miss when it was proposed in 1959.

P. 4

In the first place, it is not an integration plan but one for minimal desegregation.

It provides not for instantaneous removal of racial walls but merely for a narrow door through which a few Negro students might apply for transfers.

The door is made even smaller by the grade-a-year feature of the plan. And then it is squeezed to crawl-through proportions by starting at the upper end, where two forces operate against the likelihood or transfer: (1) The more able and aggressive Negro students are disinclined to give up positions of leadership at their own schools, and (2) the difference in achievement levels between white and Negro schools is more pronounced.

The NAACP and others who would like to move faster argue that this difference in achievement level is the fault of facilities offered to Negroes and not a racial difference. They note wide differences in achievement medians in the various white high schools.

Atlanta, Ga.

But the point is that whatever the cause, the differences do exist, and pupil placement is one way of handling the problem. Pupil placement also served and is serving the function of absorbing the inevitable shocks of abandoning total segregation.

And so, even though the system unquestionably does put severe emotional pressures on the few Negroes who do get through the "door," it is likely to remain in effect for a few more years.

Not many authorities believe Atlanta's stairstep plan will run its full course of 10 more years before the courts speed it up. In some states, federal courts already have ruled that grade-a-year is not "all deliberate speed." But for the time, it seems to be all the steam the Georgia engine can get up.

31a 1961

WHITE (BRUCE GALPHIN)



**Bruce Galphin**

# Goldwater Reads The Negro Out

In their approach to the racial question at last weekend's meeting here, Republicans again demonstrated the curious ability of the GOP to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory. Sen. Barry Goldwater's statement that he would support an amendment placing control over school integration in the hands of the states just about read Negroes—Northern and Southern—out of the party.

Theodore White in "The Making of the President: 1960" asserted that the GOP can make further inroads in the South only at the cost of Northern Negro votes. Goldwater would seem to be moving his party in that direction.

At the same weekend session, Republican National Chairman William Miller was telling the party loyal that 1962 congressional races would give "an opportunity for the people of the South to express a vote of no-confidence in the Kennedy administration."

What Miller ignored was the fact that in many Southern districts (notably Georgia's Fifth), you couldn't express any greater no-confidence than by re-electing the incumbent Democrat.

There are plenty of people in this district who would like to give the President a confidence vote. No Republican could run on platform specifically, but he could promise something like "representing the sentiment of the district."

If the GOP writes off the increasingly important Negro vote in advance and offers a platform to the right of Jim Davis, to whom will it then appeal?

It might, as it has in Texas, capture some big-city business vote. But it should not expect overnight to take the rural white vote, no matter how conservatively this group looks upon the race issue.

The Republicans, in short, don't seem to appreciate how wide the middle of the road is in Georgia.

The GOP has a great potential among Georgians, both Negroes and moderate whites, who would like to vote against the state Democratic administration (more than the national).

If it follows its present trend, though, the Republican Party offers itself as little more than a status symbol.

31a

WHITE (JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES)

## JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Birmingham Post-Herald

# Never A General Like This One

Birmingham, Ala.

*"His strength is as the strength of ten*
*Because his heart is pure. . . ."*

* * *

The nation has had generals in the White House before this one, but never one like this. Wed. 1-18-61

It has had political amateurs but never one who could do stump the professionals and take them over. P. 8

Dwight Eisenhower's two terms in office may come to be divided into the part before the departure of Sherman Adams and deaths of John Foster Dulles—and the part after when he took command. If the command has involved fewer special and general orders, that is the nature of the times and the man and the exchequer of orders already on hand.



GRAVES

Liberals will deny it was a good thing and ultra-conservatives will deny that he did it—but he may go into history as the President who turned his country's face in right directions after years of wrong ones or ones going wrong because directors wouldn't stop directing.

That makes him a savior of his country.

He is also, as he goes out of office, the most beloved man on earth. And within the 12 months past he had been idolized and adored by the whole people of a planet.

There has been nothing like it in history. How good it is that the end of his public life finds him bright-eyed in appreciation of the plaudits and with zest for a life more private.

* * *

IN THE BIBLE the particular blessing for the pure in heart was that they should see God.

Ike has an appointment.

* * *

NOWHERE, IT SEEMS, is political division sharper than in Hollywood, with elders on the side of constitutional government, middle-ageds on the other, and youth the

Paying tribute to the late Ward Bond, leading man of television's "Wagon Train," as a patriot constitutionalist and "dedicated champion of Americanism," Editor Ida Darden, of The Southern Conservative, lists a few others of his ilk in the entertainment business.

It is notable that they are all oldtimers: — Jeanette McDonald, Joe E. Brown, Leo Carillo, Charles Coburn, Mae West, John Wayne, Lawrence Welk, Robert Taylor, Adolphe Menjou, Corinne Griffith, Roy Rogers, Dale Evans, Ginger Rogers, Robert Montgomery, J. Carroll Naish, Loretta Young and Gloria Swanson.

* * *

ON THE OTHER SIDE the middle-aged New Dealers and socialists whom Pegler calls the "Rat Pack" include Frank Sinatra, Dean Martin, Peter Lawford, Sammy Davis, etc. They think they speak for youth but they are too old, beatnik and Hollywoody. There's a youth they've never met.

* * *

"CONGRESS shall make no law respecting . . . the right of the people peaceably to assemble . . ."

How peaceable is peaceable? "The people" can't shoot or throw rocks or trample flower beds but they can be as numerous and noisy —and mad. The First Amendment certainly had it in mind that they would be assembling in anger.

At the University of Alabama they tossed gravel around.

At the University of Georgia they threw rocks.

Editor Holland, in The Birmingham News, who has no sympathy with forced integration, points out that the high court could not be expected to give in because its decision has provoked violence. You can agree, and nevertheless find the issue more complicated than this.

An element of the Southern case against forced integration is that our people feel so strongly against it. As both the President and vice president (this side of Friday) have said time and again the race problem will never be settled by law. Its settlement, depends on what is in the hearts of men, on their acceptance of the law.

Editor Holland will agree that without condoning or proposing violence of any sort we should not give our people the idea that there is anything morally or legally wrong in the violence of their feelings, and assemblies this side of law-breaking.

Indeed it is important that we be noisy and numerous. That is one of the proofs of our case, that massive school education won't work and is against public psychology.

* * *

UNIVERSITY of Georgia students are not called on to "act like ladies and gentlemen" now, as their dean begs them to do.

You can be peaceable in this intolerable situation without being a Little Lord Fauntleroy.

You can assemble against an arrogant and usurping Federal Court without either looking pretty for CBS or throwing rocks for them. You can resent an unconscionable sin against the South without saying "sir," or shooting the place up, either.

## JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Birmingham Post-Herald

# End's Not Near For Southern Cause

Birmingham, Ala. 3a

*"If the red slayer think he slays,*
*Or if the slain think he is slain,*
*They know not well the subtle ways*
*I keep, and pass and turn again. . . ."*

* * *

In Atlanta it is nature's noblemen against narrow-browed Klansmen in the viciously dishonest picture Look Magazine makes of the line-up.

Jan. 4-11-61 * *

Look's Jack Squire, enclosing the current issue about "Two Battles of Atlanta" tips me off that "if Atlanta can start school and lunch-counter desegregation next Fall without violence, the forces of segregation in the South will have suffered a crippling defeat." 16:10

Does it mean nothing to him that, after the "crippling defeat" of 1864 there should still be battle in Atlanta?

Doesn't the fact of a second suggest to him a third? And so on?



GLORIFYING the colored population and the pieties of Martin Luther King who talks of love and peace even as he provokes hate and war, Look would have you believe brain-washed and leaderless Atlanta spells the South.

Come Time, Life and Newsweek brimming, too, with anticipations of Southwide surrender. Because some of the South's politicians have turned tail, because the South's governors have talked big and acted little, because the Federal courts are closing in and the administration of the two Kennedies proposes to outdo both the Congress and the NAACP with a personal cult (and personal credit) for integration, a drive is on to make the Southern people feel that all is lost and the end is near.

* * *

YET ALMOST nothing is lost that wasn't going to be anyhow, and sooner.

It is seven years since the Supreme Court degree. In many senses the Federal Government has spent those years fighting for what it could have had sooner and with infinitely less division, destruction and hate, by not fighting.

The South was moving toward many integrations with the modern Negro (short of the massive one in public schools which is never going to be).

It was moving, as often stated here, toward the finest race relationship in the world, the one most ideal for Negro advancement.

The South means to survive this Federal force and ignorance and to resume the forward moving. It has not only its own masses but the people of this nation on its side.

It has the Constitution and the Coalition in Congress that reflects the nation's majority. It can lose a thousand battles in the courts and still have more to fight, still have ways and means of preventing massive public school integration and mixing of the races.

* * *

ALL OVER THE country meanwhile, there is growing a conservative movement which refuses to confuse the American revolution of 1776 with the French revolution of 1783, rejects the libertarian and equalitarian sentimentalities, proclaims the true brotherhood of man in which differences are recognized and employed and the Image of God is served.

* * *

THE "SECOND battle of Atlanta" has already been lost.

Look should be told.

It was lost months ago when the allure of distant applause, the frown of distant authority, the threat of distant economic punishment, the moral blindness of those who came from a distance in morality's name, the distant piety of those who pretend discrimination and separation are the same—and the folly of lunatics of the far right—all combined to leave the people of Atlanta leaderless.

* * *

There will be a third battle of Atlanta - to purge it of these politicians, publicists, professors, preachers and professionals. And after that a fourth and fifth and more.

It is possible to imagine battles one day in which the South's colored and white together will oppose the professionals.

* * *

My nearly always right and absolutely always entertaining colleague, Inez Robb, goes all wrong when she identifies what she calls the "White" Citizens Councils with what she calls "self-appointed supermen" such as she calls McCarthyism, the Klan and the John Birch Society. (The name is Citizens Councils, not White Citizens).

Except for a crowd which took initial possession in North Alabama, the Citizens Councils exist in very antithesis to the Klan. In many parts of the South they are composed of citizens as soberly patriotic as Kiwanians, Rotarians, and such. Indeed the membership is almost identical in places like Jackson, Miss., Selma, Ala., etc.

* * *

Hurrah for Milton Andrews, Will Cothran and their on-the-way 17 story Bank for Savings and Trust Building which may indeed signal "the return of Downtown." and 17 stories is just right. Eighteen would have been old-fashioned and out of line - skyline - for a truly modern city. Cities are going to grow horizontially more than vertically now. That's the meaning of all the new highways, free-ways, thru-ways and such.

* * *

We'll fight it, my darling - we're still alive!"

Dr. Finch's co-defendant, grown fat in prison, 19 years his junior, calculating her age when and if she gets out of jail - turned aside from his sobbing avowal.

But what would psychologists say? Was it sentimentality, gallery-play, romanticism, misery's love of company or true love?

The doctor is very much a ladies' man, it was testified. Such men don't fall in love usually. They don't get to know any woman well enough. It may be that the companionship through murder and the ordeals of the trials have been enough to bring this woman into his life for love.

Novelists who would like to use this point for a plot are welcome.

## JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

Birmingham Post-Herald

# Moley Repudiates John Birch Society

Birmingham Ala. 4-8

*"And write about, Goddess, and about it. . . ."*

"It is not conservatism," wrote Conservative Raymond Moley in the last Newsweek, repudiating unqualifiedly the John Birch Society and its Robert Welch.

Thurs. 4-30-64

Noting the fine growth of conservatism on our campuses, Mr. Moley says "the perils that threaten (this growth) will come, not from its liberal opposition but from those who, in the name of conservatism would bring discredit by igniting passions against their neighbors, besmirching good Americans and dupes of communism and by adopting methods of organization which should be alien to this country."

"I have watched the growth of this society," he writes, "with the deepest regret and misgivings because so many sincere people have become members of it and risk their good names through association with its more radical spokesmen.



Those who are devoted to sound conservative principles owe it to themselves and their true objectives to repudiate the John Birch Society and methods as I do here."

* * *

AND NOTE THIS! Raymond Moley credits the "enterprise of the press" for revelations of the methods of the Society and its general statements "which most bring it into general disrepute."

He does not feel the press has over-advertised Mr. Welch. On the contrary he thinks it has informed the public as it would not have been informed otherwise of the menace in "those who assume the livery of conservatism, but adopt radical methods . . . "

So vast is Russia behind the Communist infiltrations, fervent and ceaseless is its animus, that our American anti-Communist press can never write too much and never let down its guard. It is required, in this great cause, to write especially, it seems to many of us, against these extreme rightists who have come to such a vogue among themselves that they can quite possibly turn left a nation so narrowly divided as ours is now.

* * *

THAT MANY sincere patriots, including some of our most distinguished citizens, are members of the Birch Society is not disputed. They are not to be criticized for having been attracted to the aggressive anti-communism of its origin. But it is hard to believe they will feel either obligation or inclination to hold on now.

Mr. Welch admits membership is no longer increasing but has declined.

* * *

"WHADDAYA MEAN Taft was more willing to compromise than Goldwater! He was decidedly less so," an Atlanta reader writes. This is true. I was misprinted.

My point was that, not being so far right as Goldwater, Taft had less call to compromise in building a following big enough to count under a two-party system.

Taft would never have compromised with either the John Birch Society on his far right or Nelson Rockefeller on his far left. Here's hoping and believing Barry Goldwater will refuse, too.

IT IS TRUE that the Congressional Coalition leaves the South out sometimes (although not always) on the race question. So did the House Rules Committee in days before it was packed and all conservatives were left out. Carl Adams is right about that.

But the South's growing hope of understanding—intellectual understanding—is this Coalition, nevertheless.

And nothing can contribute more than the literate, authoritative book of Carleton Putnam's "Race and Reason" (Public Affairs Press Washington), which is to be published April 26. A Yankee of Yankees, descended from Israel Putnam of Revolutionary fame, educated at Princeton and Columbia Law School, a successful business man who presided for years over Chicago and Southern and then Delta Air Lines, scholarly in his methods and approaches, Carleton Putnam has put into this book what the South most needs now for its case — to wit, literacy, authority, and information.

There is not only the panel of famous anthropologists whose manifesto in his support is the "news story" of the book, but a preface by Charleston's Thomas R. Waring, one of the nation's great editors and so recognized, and tributes by Senators Harry Byrd of Virginia and Richard B. Russell, of Georgia.

* * *

THE BOOK CONTAINS the famous Putnam Letter to the President, a longer letter to the attorney general, and page after page of pointed and brilliant answers by the author to questions, hostile and friendly, which have come to him since our Birmingham committee, led by James E. Simpson, advertised him over the nation.

This book is a "categorical imperative" for Southerners who see light slowly breaking and who know its fullness will depend henceforth on their own intelligence, literacy, authority and self-control. Even as some of our politicians run to cover a national public begins to lend an ear.

They aren't looking down their noses any more.

* * *

A CRIME EXCEEDING even those in liberty's name, Mr. Putnam believes is what he calls the "hoax of equalitarian anthropology," fathered, he says, by Franz Boaz, a foreign-born Columbia University professor who arrived in the United States in 1886 and from whom Gunnar Myrdal developed the ideas which so impressed Chief Justice Warren in 1954.

No scientist himself but a man of wide education and access to science, Mr. Putnam has assembled an imposing panel of biologists who agree that the races do differ and that the Negro is not as capable of advancement and self-government as other races. In his introduction, Editor Waring of The Charleston News and Courier, goes into detail on the credentials of the scientists signing the "manifesto" in support of Carleton Putnam's point.

31a 1961

WHITE (JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES)

## JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

# Kennedy Eloquence Lacks Achievement

Birmingham Post-Herald

Birmingham, Ala

Thurs 5-18-61 *

*"And talk about it, goddess, and about it. . . ."*

Now that the President has promised not to invade either Georgia or Cuba, let's hope Cuma and her Communist allies will be like Georgia and not like Red China.

When Dean Acheson, the last New Deal Democratic secretary of state, announced that Korea wasn't in our perimeter of defense, the Chinese Reds, via North Korean Reds, took it as an invitation to help themselves.

A show of hands on whether Governor Vandiver made a fine bargain and won a great victory by giving up — shows no hands.

* * *



The President has told us his strongest trait is his sense of history. Certainly he has a sense of himself in roles of other men before him. Usually it is Franklin Roosevelt, but last Sunday, in his eloquent message to the stricken Cuban mothers in Miami promising them a dawn, it was Winston Churchill, speaking French across the Channel to the beaten people of France, "Good night, then: sleep to gather strength for the morning. For the morning will come. Brightly will it shine on the brave and true, kindly upon all who suffer for the cause, glorious upon the tombs of heroes. Thus will shine the dawn. Vive la France!"

Except that eloquences from Mr. Kennedy which stand naked of achievement are too chilled to resemble Churchill fire or FDR flame.

* * *

KARL ELEBASH agrees in his Tuscaloosa Graphic that the press should use self-restraint in guarding military secrets. But he suggests that Washington politicians themselves criticize restraint.

"This is probably the most talkative, publicity-conscious administration in U. S. history," he writes. It's the Hollywood influence. Madison Avenue was better.

* * *

SUPPORTING Tom King, The News says voters should focus attention on "who is the better candidate." In the sense of being good at candidacy Mr. King is certainly better.

He is an accomplished politician, with natural charm, alertness, a smooth tongue and the sixth sense for crowds which politicians must possess.

He has been in the game all his life. At high school and again at the University of Alabama he was president of the student body, with all this implies of political acumen (these high school and college elections are politics in the raw and on the spot).

In graduate life, as assistant to our congressman, he has learned still more of the game, still finer points, still more of the wheels within wheels.

Yes, as a candidate (The News' word) Tom King is superior.

But that is one reason I am for Art Hanes, whose life has been given more to service in office and business than to the arts of candidacy, and who knows as much about this city, its ways, needs and dreams, as any man among us.

The fact that he is not so political as Tom King, not so glib-tongued and easy-mannered, underscores his superior ruggedness, his staunchness of character, his moral force and spiritual depths.

He is a strong man and a good man. In a time of crisis or trouble you would rather have him around. In good times or ordinary ones you would be more certain of his holding to standards, preserving his and our values.

* * *

TOM KING is the better candidate, yes, but Art Hanes is the better man for the job.

* * *

And I can't agree that this is all that counts. Equally to be considered now is the pressure of the pressure groups, the Negro bloc and the radical union labor one. No matter how Tom King may repudiate them or explain away their heavy support of him, he would not be the able politician he is without feeling beholden to them and having them especially in mind through the coming fateful months involving them.

I say it counts tremendously tha Art Hanes is and will remain in a position to consider all of us together without regard to pressures, obligations or political maneuvers for next time.

* * *

The hope of Birmingham is the fair, efficient and tough police force and commissioner we think we have.

In that belief we gave Bull Connor his tremendous vote for reelection a few days ago.

But the police were neither fair nor efficient and tough last Sunday, it would seem.

To say they went to the wrong station sounds either phony or inefficient. Too many other people knew the right station, including the radio, the press and the attackers.

The busy-body NAACP Negroes from Washington were looking for trouble, of course, and if they got more than they looked for let no one say the incident proves anything about Birmingham or was unprovoked. People are as human in one place as another. That's why we have policemen in all places.

* * *

OUR POLICE commissioner has shown a fine resolve to enforce law and order against both white and colored. The vote he won was our way of saying we approved. We believe he will not falter now.

Comment on the bus station incident goes at the bottom of this column today, not because it isn't important but because we want to be a big city too and act as would Chicago, Detroit and New York.

Such a thing in New York would rate page five or something there although it gets page one when it happens in Birmingham.

## JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

# Alabama's Shame Now Is Compounded

Birmingham Post-Herald

Birmingham, Ala

*"When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child. . . ."*

Thurs, 5-18-61 * * P. 11

Our governor's post-aural humidity was a regular Spring freshet this time.

It was only in Birmingham that New York Times' Reporter Salisbury said a "climate of terror" existed.

John Patterson sees him and raises him several. He implies that the whole state is under the terror, that not all its horses and men could protect a little group of idiotics from outside.

* * *

He as much as invited President Kennedy to send troops when he announced that Alabama couldn't protect the "freedom riders?"



When Grover Cleveland was President he sent troops into Illinois during the 1894 Pullman strike, relying on a Federal statute passed in 1881 authorizing use of such troops in a state when it became impracticable otherwise to enforce the law. Illinois then Gov. John P. Altgeld, of sterner stuff than ours, stoutly protested that Illinois could control the situation.

* * *

ALABAMA's shame has been compounded by Gov. Patterson's plea of helplessness. It would have been preferable to call out the whole National Guard to escort the bus-riding busybodies wherever they wanted to go, from Muscle Shoals to Mobile and back, meanwhile not forgetting the right of our people "peaceably to assemble."

* * *

CBS'S DAVID LOWE and Howard K. Smith were at the bus station when the "freedom riders" came in.

If that looked suspicious but was innocent, the national networks have only themselves to blame. Apparently Mr. Lowe and Mr. Smith, who have been here for days on their "Birmingham story," were merely good newspapermen and, like the local ones there, too, deemed it their job to be on hand when a big story was bruited.

But Birmingham and the South have been misrepresented so often by the networks, even to the extent at the University of Georgia of staging an angry student mob scene, that Birmingham naturally suspects everything they do.

Mr. Lowe told our Young Men's Business Assn. some months ago that we were "afraid" to speak.

As Mayor Morgan pointed out, "afraid" was the wrong word. We are "cautious" against speaking out before national cameras because we have been lied about and want no more of it.

* * *

NOW MR. LOWE has been in and out of Birmingham for months preparing his Birmingham story, which appears on television nationally and locally tonight. As I told him when he asked me, he has been here long enough to know for himself there is no reign or "climate of terror." He knows there is not, and nothing that happened Sunday changes the knowledge.

Inevitably the "freedom-riders'" leader is spouting Salisbury talks of a reign of hate and terror in Birmingham. He is justified from his brief experience in thinking so. There is indeed hate of what he and his ilk are doing to our white and colored in the South. But that was pretty nearly completely an imported terror on both sides, terror imposed by a few never seen or heard of here ordinarily against another few from far-away Washington under a plan sure to give maximum provocation.

* * *

IF OUR PEOPLE have, in spite of all, co-operated with David Lowe in the preparation of his story which is to be shown tonight, it has been in no new-found love and trust of CBS but in a developed belief in David Lowe as an idividual honest enough and intelligent and professionally competent enough to be fair.

He knows in personal observation over a long period of time theres is no "climate of terror" here. He knows that the Sunday scene which is such a set-up for enemies who would make it otherwise proves nothing of Birmingham's general psychology.

* * *

MR. LOWE told me last week that, for better or worse, he assumes responsibility for the editing and selecting that has had to be done to bring material on his story of Birmingham within time limits.

Howard K. Smith, who will be narrator, was born in Louisiana and has a BS degree from Tulane, as well as an honorary doctorate from Tulane bestowed in 1955. He is 47 but looks 37.

He is a Rhodes scholar, and most of his life since then has been given to newspaper, radio and television coverage and to comment on foreign affairs, for which he has won many honors. His expressions on CBS have indicated that his Southern birth and upbringing are not reflected in his views on the race question. That he has a will to be fair, however, and to be an objective reporter when that is his task, I am able to believe.

We shall see what we shall see.

* * *

"IF ONLY OUR local papers wouldn't play this thing up so," complains a telephone caller about the "affair at the bus station."

Great Scott! If our papers and stations hadn't played it up with pictures and stories we wouldn't be as far along as we are to catching the nest-fouling fools who have disgraced Alabama.

Also, if the story had been low-rated here imagine what the Northern papers would have said as they played it way up—also the other Southern papers!

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

# Let Us Accentuate The Happy Warriors

*"Who is the happy Warrior? Who is he*
*That every man in arms would wish to be?"*

NASHVILLE—America's Happy Warrior is Astronaut Alan Shepard, exulting in his youth and adventure, in the great way of his country, proud of his comrades, bright-eyed for science, sure of his own and this nation's great surviving, sure it is in their book, their stars, their strong right arms, their promise that they were not made to die.

Boy, page all the Alan Shepards of this land! Page them against the penny dreadfuls of perdition Khrushchev has got us reading and the confused tongues here that accuse each other of communism and treason, accentuating all our negatives! Page them to make the free way, the bold way, the freely enterprise way, the way of faith in God and fellowmen and themselves as individuals



* * *

HERE IN NASHVILLE last night the Tennessee Business Men's Association in annual banquet assembled, with President Forrest Reed presiding, accentuated the positive, acclaimed the happy warriors of America.

If there were Communist spies and infiltrators about, they heard talk not of themselves but of ourselves, our magnificent American proposition that men can be free and have well-being, too.

* * *

AFTER 20 YEARS of it, Americans are at once so wary and so weary of Communist infiltration they find infiltration by anybody with anything repulsive, even by lunatics of the far right.

* * *

IT IS THE COMMUNISM that is coming by way of socialism rather than by infiltration which is the greater menace. Of the three wars at once which Russia is making on us—the cold one, the one by infiltration and the one by socialism of a welfare state—the socialist is the deadliest.

It is deadliest because it is not outlawed and because it is not widely recognized.

It is deadliest because even as our people are constantly alerted to the cold war and to Communist infiltration, they won't see that socialism is the veritable broad highway to communism. The Russians know it, and now the Cubans. They call themselves Socialist, not Communist, states.

* * *

A SOCIALIST IS A Communist who doesn't know the facts of life. He thinks you can be pretty and sweet about it, have liberty and justice, rule by the people, peace on earth and God. But you can't. The Russians and Chinese know and don't try.

The Socialist threat in America which is the greatest Communist threat—comes from neither Socialists nor Communists. It comes from God-players. You can't play God over fellow creatures whether you do it with a government, a business corporation or a labor union. And when you try, God confuses your tongues as He did the tongues of men at the Tower of Babel. Outside the South many mistake what we mean by States' Rights.

We need another name for what we are really talking about. For what we mean isn't just rights of states but rights of states, individuals and businesses against God-players.

We mean rights against those who are giving us too much government too far from the governed, against centralized government, unlimited government. We mean rights against business monopolies, too, and against those larger and deadlier monopolies of organized labor.

* * *

Khrushchev has another victory in that he has some of us spending so much of our time accusing each other of communism. Why can't we get the little Russia rolly-polly on the defensive himself? Why can't we hear even more of the free enterprise promise than of the Communist menace. Why can't we advertise more the magnificent American proposition that men can be free and have human welfare, too, the proposition still so young and shining and revolutionary that the ones of Karl Marx are all must and medievalism in comparison.

With this proposition we have created the most magic economy known to man, one with which only yesterday we fought two wars at once on two sides of a planet, arming and feeding our allies and ourselves, producing more civilian goods at the same time than ever before, and coming out with more wealth, more technology, more machinery, more weapons (until we threw them away) and more plain ordinary human welfare than any nation on earth.

* * *

A MAGIC ECONOMY from a magnificent proposition! Fly this land as I have so often and the magic spreads below you. Let who will be a Communist—we tell the world of free enterprise and men brave and positive enough to spell it out!

* * *

COMES MR. A. J. LIEBLING with a book on Earl Long called "The Earl of Louisiana" making him out a liberal on the race question and, therefore, by implication, not a demagogue.

Mr. Liebling forgets that time has marched. Southern demagogues who in other days used the race question in one direction, use it in the other now. Alabama's James E. Folsom is believed to be waiting his own chance with "dreams that wave before the half shut eye," dreams of a Negro bloc vote totally owned and able to exercise balances of power.

Just as there are, also, political-minded Southern editors who have won national fame and fortune beyond all dreaming with the new demagogy in liberal form on the race question

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—
Birmingham Post-Herald

# Distorted Picture Of City Given On TV

**This is Mr. Graves' final column, written only a few hours before his death yesterday.**

Birmingham, Ala.

*As on a darkling plain,*
*Swept with confused alarms*
*of struggle and flight,*
*Where ignorant armies*
*clash by night. . . ."*

Sat. 5-20-61
p. 4

Birmingham must have sounded like that to the nation Thursday night on the "CBS Reports" program.

The Negro presentation far excelled the white in coherence, feeling, representative nature and best foot foremost — except that it didn't represent the huge number of responsible colored people who know the South was advancing tremendously in race relations under its own steam before the Supreme Court decision and who are certain that this other type of advancement under outside pressure does not accelerate but stops the real advances.



You had a sense of great cause championed by devoted, passionate and patient people all literate, all enlightened.

The white presentation, covering mostly the first half, sounded like a lot of nice people making random observations, some of them the sentimental, paternalistic, outworn or purely incidental kind the country laughs at in this modern day, others taking an in-between position despised by both white and colored, and none of them—as cut and edited—making the powerful case to which the South is entitled, none of them sounding "the voice that rang through Shiloh's woods and Chicamauga's solitudes."

The dire and tragic plight of the South with the most delicate and difficult race problem with which any people anywhere ever had to deal was not even hinted.

Whether my own case is typical I don't know, but CBS had taken 40 minutes of film which I understood would have to be cut to about three, but I was heartbroken to have the real points I tried to make overlooked and to be left merely calling Harrison Salisbury a liar.

* * *

THE HERO of the piece was permitted to be Agitator Shuttlesworth.

* * *

THERE WAS inexcusable failure to make it clear that all of the statements, many pointing truly to a comparative lack of violence here rather than any "reign of terror," were made before the recent bus station clash.

And that in those affairs, both parties were mainly outsiders, equally unknown to Birmingham. Those of us who have damned the Salisbury lie about a "climate of fear" here were made to seem liars ourselves, even though during and after the bus rioting there was no "climate of fear" among the ordinary people of this city.

There was none Sunday and Wednesday, there is none now and there never has been any, in spite of the Negro girl from parts unknown who was permitted to utter with such sinister implications the one sentence "Don't live here."

* * *

THIS COLUMN has pointed out many times that the situation is too complicated and subtle for television to cover it fully. I think David Lowe did try and I know he was handicapped by the unwillingness of some of our white people who could have made a truly modern and comprehensive case for us to take part because they feared foul play. But I think his editing and cutting make the white side poorer than it was.

* * *

HOWARD K. SMITH didn't even try to be fair, it seems to me. His sympathies were so totally with the invaders who were taking advantage of a believed whole Federal Government behind them to come here and be abused while national thousands wept and cheered that he gave all his attention to the fools who were beating them, none to the anguish of a Southern people misrepresented and debased by the fools.

We made a mistake in cooperating. For my part I am deeply ashamed.

* * *

RALPH McGILL, addressing Birmingham's Rotary Club Wednesday, used the party line that "social reform is the strongest anti-Communist weapon we have."

Perpetual social reform, achieved through government and creating a welfare state dictatorship, is no anti-Communist weapon. It is a Communist threat. It is a more to be feared approach to Communism than either cold war or domestic infiltration because it is not outlawed and its significance is not noted.

It is the broad highway to communism.

* * *

EVERYBODY IS or ought to be for social welfare and the reforms it occasionally requires. But the present administration wants a welfare state. It wants right things in wrong ways.

People who are sick of some aspects of television forget this sickness for a worse one when they hear the New Frontier Federal Communications chairman, Newton N. Minow, lecturing the broadcasters' association on its sins and telling them how the government is going to supervise their programs by way of its control over licenses.

Here is a perfect example of social reform which is not an anti-Communist weapon but Communism itself. You agree so with Mr. Minow's criticisms of television that you are all more shocked that he proposes to be a Fascist-Communist about them.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—
Birmingham Post-Herald

# Birmingham Police Are Due High Praise

Birmingham, Ala.

*"Taking one consideration with another,*
*A policeman's life is not a happy one."*

Fri. 5-19-61
p. 14

* * *

Birmingham had reason to be proud of its police force Wednesday. It was in action and it was in command. Just as the Gilbert and Sullivan song says, "a policeman's life is not a happy one"—especially in the South of this moment with the complicated, many-angled, delicate, deep-running race problem forever on hand.

We of Birmingham are proud of our force, and because we are likely to have to depend on it in many ways in coming months, we owe its fine morale the tonic of commendation from time to time. Wednesday was a time.

* * *

PEOPLE WHO vow "integration is inevitable" should name the integration. Some is, some isn't.



* * *

MY FRIEND TRAVIS WOLFE interprets me as saying the mob violence here was not page one news. Exactly no such thing.. I said if it happened in New York or Chicago papers there would not give it page one, although they were sure to do so with this story from the South.

Of course it was page one news! When I fail to make myself clear to so literate a gentleman as Mr. Wolfe I need a course in remedial writing.

* * *

JUST UNDER the wire, all hail to Girls Club Week, which closes today with a fashion show of garments made and modeled by the girls.

The show is in the YWCA Auditorium at 7:30 and 9:30 p.m. along with an exhibition by the baton and folk dance groups.

Birmingham Girls Club was founded in 1939. It is for girls between six and 10. Mrs. G. E. Mowry, chairman, is also founder.

Georgia and wrote a story for his Atlanta Constitution once all about what a wonderful friend of his boyhood an old Negro man had been and how he actually loved him. It was an appealing story, but Ralph wrote as if this were something extraordinary and a liberal lesson for us all.

With less "liberalism" and more comprehension he would have known millions of us are going through life with friendship for certain Negroes large in our hearts.

* * *

FOR PRAISING "To Kill a Mocking Bird" as a book with no social message but blessedly of individual human beings, some bad, some good, and of "some very appealing children and their lawyer father who defends a Negro charged with a murder he didn't do," I am challenged by Birmingham's Lewis W. White with the amazing accusation that "I am in left field and know it."

I was using "social message" as an epithet, Mr. White. I agree with you that individual things are "a prime epitome of Christian morality and nobility" and do indeed have social significance in that sense.

But that isn't the sense in which I was using the term. I meant class or group significance, moral about "the Negro" of "the Southerner" of "the working people," or "the idle rich." This book is about individuals.

IN NASHVILLE Monday I saw my old friend Ben A. Green, longtime Alabama newspaperman and one-time president of the Alabama Press Association. Now editor of The Shelbyville Times-Gazette, he has given himself a leave of absence to promote his just published "Biography of the Tennessee Walking Horse" (Parthenon Press, Nashville which Coleman Harwell calls a "fascinating book."

The Tennessee Walking Horse National Celebration is held annually in Shelbyville. That's where Ben got his big idea and ardent love.

* * *

TOM KING'S breath-taking tale of the dastardly plot to trap him into being pictured actually shaking hands with a Negro gives our mayoralty campaign the comic relief it needs.

If such trifles as the handshaking are to be brought in, Tom had better stop saying "substantuate" when he means "substantiate." It reflects on the University of Alabama which gave him his education. But perhaps he was too busy being a politician there, too.

* * *

MR. KING'S uncomprehension reminds you of Ralph McGill, the East Tennessean who came to

# John Temple Graves Dies Of Attack During Speech

MOBILE (AP) — While calling for observance of law, newspaper columnist and lecturer John Temple Graves II of Birmingham collapsed and died of an apparent heart attack during a speech Friday.

Graves, a longtime spokesman for states' rights forces, was speaking to the Mobile Bar Association in a hotel dining room during the group's Law Day program.

He suddenly stopped and said, "gentlemen, please excuse me, I think I must sit down." He toppled and several attorneys caught him as he was falling.

**RACE TALK**

The veteran newsman was taken to a hospital where he was reported dead shortly afterwards.

Graves wrote a daily column in the Birmingham Post-Herald. The column was syndicated to a number of other southern papers.

His address to the attorneys had been based primarily in the current racial troubles in Birmingham.

He said there is no hope of achieving goals through violence, even though there might be a temporary victory.

Graves called the attacks on the "Freedom Riders" Sunday a defeat, but claimed the procedures followed Wednesday by law officers in a similar situation was a victory.

"The only real way to have violence is to have a second civil war, but the south could not come as near winning now as it did 100 years ago," Graves said in calling for observance of law.

He said there are eternal laws and constitutional laws under which the nation should be governed—not laws created by U.S. Supreme Court decisions.

"We believe firmly in these eternal laws just as we believe in God's law and his love of man," Graves said.

He collapsed seconds later.

**GEORGIA NATIVE**

Graves was born in Rome, Ga., April 25, 1892. He received a bachelor's degree from Princeton in 1915 and attended George Washington law school.

His father, John Temple Graves, at one time was editor of the old Atlanta Georgian.

Graves had been editor of the Jacksonville Journal and a newspaper at West Palm Beach, Fla., before coming to Birmingham with the old Birmingham Age-Herald in the late 1920s. He had been with the Post-Herald as a staff columnist since 1946. His column was syndicated to 24 other southern newspapers.

He was an army veteran of World War I and at one time was an economist for the Federal Trade Commission. He was the author of "The Fighting South" and several other books.

Aside from his interests in economy, law, writing and speaking, Graves was active in sports. He was Middle Atlantic States tennis champion in 1923.

Survivors include his wife, the former Rose Duncan Smith, and two daughters.



JOHN GRAVES II
. . . Heart Attack Victim

John Temple Graves—

# Funeral for local columnist Sunday

Graveside funeral services will be held Sunday for John Temple Graves II, Birmingham Post-Herald columnist, who died Friday at Mobile.

The services will be at Wilson Chapel Cemetery in Roebuck. The Rev. John C. Turner will officiate.

Graves collapsed and died while addressing a meeting of the Mobile Bar Assn.

The 69-year-old columnist, economist and lecturer was addressing the association's Law Day observance when he stopped and said:

**"Gentlemen, please excuse me, I think I must sit down." He toppled and was caught by several attorneys.**

He was reported dead shortly after arrival at a hospital.

Graves wrote a daily column in The Post-Herald. The column was syndicated to 24 other Southern newspapers. In addition he had written several books.

GRAVES WAS BORN in Rome, Ga., the son of Editor John T. Graves and Anne Cothran Graves. He attended Horace Mann School in New York and received a bachelor's degree from Princeton University in 1915.

Graves interrupted his college studies at one time to begin his newspaper career as a $15-a-week cub reporter on The New York Journal which his father edited.

He later worked as an economist for the Federal Trade Commission, leaving that for military service in World War I.

**In 1925 he became editor of The Palm Beach (Fla.) Times and moved to The Jacksonville Journal in 1927.**

He was a free lance writer here in 1929 when he joined the old Birmingham Age-Herald. He served on that paper for nearly 17 years—joining The Post-Herald in 1946.

GRAVES ALSO WAS active in sports, having won the Middle Atlantic States tennis championship in 1923.

In 1954, he received the Southern Association of Science and Industry Award and in 1952 and 1956 he received the Freedom Award.

Graves was a member of the Episcopal Church of the Advent.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Rose Ducan Smith Graves; two daughters, Miss Nancy Graves of Birmingham and Mrs. James Carl Heatherly of Auburn; a brother, James De G. Graves, Farmington, Conn., and two sisters, Mrs. Frederick Tomkins, East Orange, N. J., and Mrs. T. Meade Banker, Columbia, S. C.

## JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

# The Rosedale Issue

*"The name is Rosedale. . . ."*

* * *

Do they think by continually postponing the Rosedale issue, the champions of those respected, home-loving, community-conscious colored people can be made to forget or pipe down?

Homewood's city council puts itself in a poor light with its hems, haws and howevers, and the light is poorer with each "postponement."

Since the area has been declared officially not a slum, since the desire of its people to hold their homes is eloquently evident, since their willingness to make improvements has been evinced time and again if the city will give them a chance, what justification is there beyond the mayor's strange stubbornness for continuing to hold hands with the Chattanooga corporation and its $35 million?



GRAVES

The $35 million dwindles when examined, but simple right and wrong under God and the Constitution and common decency are more evident with every meeting.

Granted that we are under no obligation to consider outsiders who say the property turned out to be too valuable to let Negroes keep it.

We are under obligation to our own consciences, and to our decent colored people, and to the years of good will between races—and to the Constitution of the United States.

* * *

"THE ROSEDALE people have been good citizens," well-said Councilman Frank Hambaugh Monday night at the meeting. "They were the early pioneers. The entire council has a humanitarian obligation to them. For my part, I choose to stand by them and wish them continued residence in the place they call home . . ."

* * *

WHEN PLEASANT, personable, intelligent David Lowe, CBS producer, who is here with Ed Murrow, tells our Young Men's Business Club that people in Birmingham are "afraid to talk" and that "there is a conspiracy of fear," he needs to call his shots.

He needs to name both his people and his talk. And he needs to watch his language. His "conspiracy of fear" sounds like The New York Times' Mr. Salisbury.

There are people on both sides of the question who hesitate to speak out—for economic, political or social reasons, it is true.

There are segregationists who refuse to be butchered to make a CBS or NBC national holiday with selective cameras which use poor light for some and glamor's own for others.

There are preachers and college professors who dare not take the Southern position because they are afraid of being called ungodly or illiberal. There are politicians like Jim Folsom with "dreams that wave before the half-shut eye," dreams of a vast new Negro vote they hope to exploit and must not now offend even though taking care not to get too far out on a limb.

But Mr. Lowe means fear in the other direction. He means fear of Negroes or their champions to speak for the NAACP program and ideal. There are some such, true.

But these are matched by other Negroes who would have none of the NAACP ideal yet fear to hold back lest they be pilloried as "Uncle Toms." And college professors afraid of not being conventionally liberal. And preachers afraid of the National Council of Churches.

* * *

CONSPIRACIES of fear, reigns of terror, climates of hate!

Mr. Murrow says the script of his planned production will be written by the people of Birmingham." He plans "extensive interviews with both white and Negro leaders."

That sounds fair in a conventional way but Ed is too sensible to think that some sort of count of noses between assertions of partisans is possible or that, even if it were, it would say whether the climate, the conspiracy, he reign, are here.

* * *

THE HUNGRY Club, an organization of Birmingham's leading Negro citizens, has invited a number of local writers of both races to hear a talk Thursday afternoon at the Negro YMCA on "Birmingham Negro Writers."

Dr. John W. Nixon, Negro dentist, who will conduct the meeting, describes it as an effort to encourage Negroes to write about themselves in a factual way since the founding of Birmingham.

The Hungry Club, lest Messrs. Murrow and Lowe get it wrong, is neither hungry nor in shock. Nor does it hate or feel hated. The name refers to those Biblical ones "who hunger and thirst after righteousness"—an item not included in dialectical materialism and beyond the comprehenson of the NAACP.

* * *

HAVE YOU LET your congressman know you expect him to vote Southern Democratic Thursday against the proposal to pack the all-important Rules Committee and take away one more weapon of the South? Not all of Alabama's congressmen are pro-Southern on this, unhappily. Some are still toeing the Rayburn line.

Be not deceived if they say the Rules Committee can keep legislative proposals from coming to the floor of the House for a vote. A majority of the House can take a bill away from the committee whenever it pleases.

* * *

THE HOPE OF the South now is the Coalition in Congress. That means our habit of reelecting congressmen and senators forever must be amended. The election of 1962 should—and will—see the sudden and unexpected end of some long-standing Southern politicians who boot-lick the national party at the expense of the South, the nation and the Constitution.

Send a wire! The Rules Committee vote will be close enough for your telegram to determine it.



## JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

# Issue Of Power

*"It is a matter of power, not principle."*

* * *

Wouldn't Speaker Rayburn's and President Kennedy's announced purpose be better served by abolishing the House Rules Committee than by packing it with their supporters?

The President in his Wednesday press conference deplored the ability of "a small majority to prevent the majority from voting." Since majority rules on the committee he can only mean the majority in the whole House.

But that majority rules, too. It can take a bill away from the Rules Committee whenever it wishes.

THE ESSENCE of the presidential complaint and that of the Speaker, therefore, is that a committee majority representing a coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats can delay presentation of certain bills and impose on the House the need of taking the bill away by majority command.



GRAVES

After the committee is packed as the Speaker and President desire, the situation will be exactly the same. A majority of the committee will still be able to withhold a bill unless and until a majority of the House takes it away. The only solution would be to abolish the committee or its duties.

* * *

THIS IS, THEREFORE, no issue of majority rule.

It is an issue of power.

And none can say that a House of Representatives with 20 more Republicans than the last one and these, plus Southern Democrats, making a sometime majority, is required to yield its power. The President has an executive mandate—by a hair. The House has a legislative mandate—by many hairs.

* * *

IT IS HARD TO believe that five of Alabama's nine congressmen in spite of a national legislative and a state presidential majority vote the other way, propose still slavishly to toe-the-line for surrender of this long-standing, authentic weapon of the South.

Alabama voted a majority for its free Democrats, which is to say its coalition ones.

The nation voted similarly for the Coalition when, in spite of the Kennedy victory, it added 20 Republicans to the House.

* * *

THIS IS A MATTER of power, not principle. Since that is so and five of our congressmen all falling down before misplaced presidential power, our people should command them by wire, phone and letter to stand up for the power of Alabama's and for the nation's voted will as regards Congress.

The issue has been postponed to next week. There is plenty of time to get word to your congressman. Tell him you expect him to show a "profile of courage." Tell him to vote for the President's book and not, in this instance, the President.

IN HIGHEST employment demand and with biggest salaries—among college seniors—are electrical engineers, says the United States News. They are offered salaries averaging $552 a month.

Next come aeronautical engineers, averaging $551, physical sciences $546, chemical engineers $540, and mechanical engineers $536.

Some who complain that Russia gets ahead of us in science because its students are not required to take so many other and general subjects related to liberal arts forget that total states need only robots. In a democracy of the free, men have to be citizens and human beings as well as technicians.

* * *

IN THE CONFUSION here over fear-saying and rumors-of-fear-saying, I think it important to believe that Edward R. Murrow and David Lowe have come from CBS on an obvious errand of justice-doing and truth-telling.

They honestly hope to give a picture of things as they are, and without editorial comment. They wish to do that because they are honest men, able reporters and genuinely fond of the South, but also, I believe more and more, because national tides of sympathy and respect are turning the Southern way now.

* * *

SOMETIMES, of course, changes of policy at the top don't percolate down as fast as they should.

* * *

THERE ARE TWO constitutional amendments from the South for curbing the Supreme Court. One is that of Senator Talmadge and eight other Southern senators (Byrd, Robertson, Johnston, Hill, Sparkman, Eastland, Stennis and Long) restoring control over education to the states.

The other, passed by the Louisiana and South Carolina legislatures, and by them commended to Congress, embodies the original Interposition Doctrine except that one-fourth of all the states, rather than one alone, are required to nullify a Supreme Court decision which they believe has taken powers from the states and given them to the Federal Government. As with the Interposition theory of Madison and Jefferson, such nullification stands until and unless the nullified decision is subsequently approved by three-fourths of the states.

Senator Talmadge believes that, with politics abated, there is more hope for his amendment than when he introduced it in 1959. After extensive hearings then, a subcommittee of the Committee on Constitutional Amendments voted three to two to reject it. He vows to go on introducing it as long as he is in the Senate.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

# We're Not Amused

*"We are not amused. . . ."*

That was Queen Victoria's way of indicating her displeasure when an imitation offended her Victorian sensibilities.

You can believe the American people are not amused at the spectacle of punishment meted out to those who opposed the Rules Committee packing. And that they identify it with the President and a concept of politics they have not known in these last eight years.

Ike just didn't have it in him.

Mr. Kennedy is a "practical politician" and deems it a virtue to be, but his predecessor has given the public some new values.



David Lawrence says the new President is already being criticized for proposing to make members of Congress "toe the mark, or else."

"If it should turn out that all the high-sounding and noble phrases are surface virtues, and that underneath is a political administration of the type from which the county has suffered in big cities like Boston, New York and Chicago, the popularity of Mr. Kennedy would drop precipitately . . ."

* * *

**". . . The elements**
**Of whom your swords are tempered may as well**
**Wound the loud winds, or with be-mocked-at stabs**
**Kill the still-closing waters, as diminish**
**One dowl that's in my plume . . ."**

Labor leaders who think to diminish George Huddleston's stature here may as well "wound the loud winds" or "kill the still-closing waters." He is stronger with labor's rank and file than they are, and his vote against the Rules Committee packing bill has endeared him to a Ninth District constituency which is, has been, and continues to be, Southern Democratic by big majority. If there has been any political menace to Mr. Huddleston in his district it has been from some in this majority who have doubted his sufficient conservatism, but who are reassured by the anti-committee-packing vote. That he had the rank and file of union labor with him, too, in this vote, would be worth a stout wager, for our workers feel as strongly as anyone else against civil force.

* * *

APART FROM THESE political considerations, Mr. Huddleston has the greater satisfaction of knowing that his vote for a right principle. The issue was not the power of the committee to hold up bills. It was the mere matter of who should have that power.

The skulduggery of a change in membership has not altered the power. Mr. Sam has condoned and used this power through all the years. For him suddenly to find an issue of majority rule in it - is not amusing, as the queen would say.

* * *

MR. HUDDLESTON has put himself in line for the United States Senate, in certain eventualities.

* * *

REACTION IN THE SOUTH against its congressman who voted, under the whip, to pack the committee is violent enough to promise that heads will roll in 1962.

And every such petty punishment as has been imposed by Mister Sam on Congressman Selden not only helps the congressmen but hurts both Mister Sam and President Kennedy. The Southern people are not amused.

* * *

**"Oh, how I miss you tonight,**
**Miss you when lights are low . . ."**

THOSE WHO SAY Franklin Roosevelt talked the nation out of the depression of 1929 are no more exact than those who say John Kennedy has talked the nation into the recession of 1961. But it can be partly true in both cases. And with talk carried so much further and more effectively now by television the thing may be more true of JFK than FDR.

* * *

MANY BELIEVE the main cause of the depression of 1929 was an orgy of buying without paying. Installment buying, stocks sold on 10-point margins, land on less (the "binder boys" in Florida), anticipating in one way or another whatever income we had, and no matter how much it came to be. This and automation, plus monopoly-high prices. We were rich and could bear much traffic, but we put out more than the traffic would bear.

* * *

MANY BELIEVE the recession of 1961 is due to an orgy of demands from labor leaders for higher wages, and a scramble of business leaders to surrender and pass the bill to the public. Add automation to this, too.

* * *

WILL THE RECESSION of 1961 deepen into a depression of 1929? It won't, in this column's opinion, because of two circumstances.

One is that we have had a New Deal—give it credit—with all manner of cushions, carry-overs, credits insurances and other softeners against the extreme.

The other is that, thanks to the closeness of the election and the lack of a mandate, a New Frontier program is not going to be choking the economy when most it needs to breathe.

This and the fact of an annual $40 billion Defense establishment, the biggest business in the world and, inevitably, a going and growing concern.

* * *

THIS RECESSION began under Eisnehower, true. But so did several others — without going so far. Ike was called indifferent because he was unwilling to play God, to maneuver for control of Congress, to play the political game of rewards and punishments.

* * *

"THE RAYBURN VICTORY, won by the votes of four Alabama congressmen (Rains, Elliott, Roberts and Jones) is hollow," says Editor Elebash in The (Tuscaloosa) Graphic. The fact that these four can have brought about the surrender of a remaining Southern weapon makes it all the more important to preserve or achieve Southern Democratic purity in the Coalition.

There must be no more eternal congressmen turned careless by the eternity.

JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES—

# Checkmate For JFK

*"And, lo! Ben Adhem's name led all the rest!"*

* * *

"The dreadful Roosevelt formula" of Presidential power, "the naked political brutality" of what liberal historians describe as a "strong President," are detected by The Columbia, S. C., Record in the Administration thus far.

"Americans who have not yet been shocked by the raw and ruthless power of the President in Allen Drury's 'Advise and Consent' should be . . ."

How guileless, sweet, gay, friendly—and young—Ike begins already to seem in retrospect!

* * *

BUT LET The Record's editor be of good cheer. So many things are different now. Mr. Kennedy has not the magnetic FDR personality, the reservoir of popularity, the sonorous voice, the awesome depression, the supine South.



And he begins his Presidential career checkmated by what only at the last checkmated FDR—the Coalition in Congress.

And think of all the history, politics and economics our people have learned since 1933, how world-wise they've become.

* * *

MR. MASON L. MOORE, of Ensley is right about it that Generals Grant and Eisenhower were much alike in some respects as President. Both had hands and feet, eyes and two legs. Even more, both had been generals and neither had had previous political experience.

But among many enormous differences was that Grant was a field man, had little dealing with men as men.

Ike, on the other hand, while he may not have heard a shot fired in all of World War II, had the biggest diplomatic and co-ordinating job in history, military or civilian. That was a preparation for the presidency such as few men have ever had, least of all Ulysses S. Grant.

* * *

THE WORLD MAY yet conclude that Mr. Eisenhower's preparation as a dealer in men and nations on a vast scale was better than Mr. Kennedy's as a dealer without stint or stop in politics-above-all.

AN UNHAPPY ending to a story unhappy all the way is the President's appointment of Charles Meriwether to the Export-Import Bank of Washington.

By now Mr. Meriwether will have looked it up and learned what an export-import bank is, for he is smart.

But the cynicism and hypocrisy of the whole deal are sickening.

Ashamed to acknowledge Patterson's support before the election, the President now lets the governor name a friend for a job—and does it with utter indifference to the nature of the friend.

Pre-election cynicism is equaled only by post-election cynicism.

COMES THE CHICAGO Tribune to the aid of The New York Times against the libel suits in Alabama. Of Judge Grooms' ruling that a newspaper is doing business within a jurisdiction when it sends a reporter to cover a news story in that jurisdiction The Tribune complains that this may discourage newspapers from "reporting and exposing abuses and corruption in other states."

How can that be in the case of the great good New York Times, whatever the case with The Chicago Tribune?

All The Times has to do to preserve its freedom of the press in reporting evil in other states is to tell the truth.

The truth is an answer to any libel suit.

Freedom of the press will be discredited indeed if it is interpreted as including the right wantonly to misrepresent Birmingham with such a report as Harrison Salisbury's of a "climate of fear" induced by "the whip, the knife, the rope" and what have they.

* * *

AS I INTERPRET the Homewood Planning Commission's proposed new zoning classification for Rosedale, it would operate in the ideal for which Rosedale has been fought for and saved.

* * *

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, more arrogant than ever, talking as if he had been elected co-president, told Meet the Press that Mr. Kennedy has promised to put the full power of the Presidency behind enforcement of the desegregation decree — as President Eisenhower conspicuously failed to do.

What President Kennedy promised — at his press conference — was the "moral power" of the Presidency.

That this means necessarily legal power, too, and that there is a vast legal power, Congressman Powell confidently asserts. He may be right, although use of the limiting adjective by the President does raise doubts.

* * *

NEVERTHELESS the South is in for such a seige that it needs to identify and be rid of all its enemies, and all defeatists, weaklings and backsliders at home and to grapple all its national friends to do it with "hoops of steel."

Whatever sea - changes may have come over the President since his election, there have come into power or influence with him men poised for the kill as far as the South is concerned and certain that this is their hour.

They will exact from the Presdential promise of "moral power" every possible interpretation and use.

**Ted Lippman**

# Segregation Is Matter of Choice



WASHINGTON—The Washington Redskins do not have a Negro player and as a result of that some officials here (Interior Secretary Udall, for example) won't attend their games. The Redskins are just about the last stand for White Supremacy in this city.

Only a couple of weeks ago the Washington Bridge League desegregated. This, most people had thought, would be the last citadel.

The legal barriers are down here. Restaurants are desegregated. Theaters are. Public buses and street cars are. Employment by the government, the city's biggest employer, is. The schools are.

There are no laws "upholding" segregation. Yet none of the things that Southern politicians have been saying for years would happen have happened. (The schools are not as well off as they could be. School officials here believe what turmoil there is only transitory.)

People who want to associate with people of different colored skins, for whatever reason, may. People who don't want to, don't. It's just about that simple.

There is still much segregation. More, perhaps, than those people who expect heaven on earth would like to see. Less, perhaps, than those people who use words like "tradition" and phrases like "our way of life" without really understanding them would like to see.

But the world hasn't come to an end for either group. The "traditionalists" are still able to practice their traditions. The "heaven-on-earthers" are still able to point out to the world that this is really a free country.

Segregation here is a matter of choice. So is integration. Which is exactly the way it should be.

Furthermore, there continues to be progress. George Preston Marshall, the owner of the Redskins, says he is for desegregation and plans to draft a Negro back next year. The Negro back he has in mind is Ernie Davis of Syracuse. That makes Marshall for desegregation like Nikita Khrushchev is for the U.N. Nikita is for it with a troika. George Preston is for it with Davis, the best college player in the Republic.

Still, that's progress.

# The Vision Others Get Of The South

IN *THE NEW YORK TIMES Book Review*, Sept. 17, Ralph McGill—often selected by national reviews for judgment on Southern commentaries—examines another book on Dixie.

This one is "The Emerging South," by a Kentucky professor. After reading it, many a Deep Southerner probably would find it full of truth and debatable opinion, about in equal proportions.

In review McGill states:

"The truth is the majority of the Southern people are not as stubbornly prejudiced as they have been made to appear. History will surely deal severely with their political leaders when it examines their deceit of their own people. The senators and congressmen, the governors, mayors and state legislative leaders who encouraged their people to defiance of law, who told them the Supreme Court had acted illegally in the school desegregation decision, and that their government was simply trying to 'ram something down their throats,' have not yet been judged—but in God's good time they will be."

TERMS USED, strong insinuation, easy summation of political stands, out of hand dismissal of question of the Supreme Court's '54 ruling— and a pious certainty that retribution is scheduled—all seemingly render the objecting Southerner hapless if not hopeless.

Here is a Southerner widely accepted in other areas as an undisputed voice of the Southern conscience. Utterance thus seeing print is stern. Any who would challenge it would seem, by fact of arising in rebuttal, to have donned the devil's somber cloak.

The South is being offered on McGillian rather than what others consider its own terms. What this spokesman says is "the word."

A MAJORITY of Southerners are not "as stubbornly prejudiced. . . ." What is prejudice? A strong belief that mixture of races in schools, pools, dining rooms will not now, at the least, work to advantage of either, a belief that it would provoke trouble, make for uneasiness, bring an "acceptance" on the part of neither of the races?

That certainly appears to be contemporary Southern opinion.

But more—is that not really the prevalent public opinion elsewhere? Suppose his words were amended to read that "a majority of U. S. white citizens is not as stubbornly prejudiced as they have been made to appear?" Deliberate segregation in a dozen Northern centers comes to mind. These are exceptions?

The Atlanta publisher and until lately editor, still a columnist, has seemed to "buy," if he has not plainly bought, an isolation of the South in this racial matter. Yet growing, significant evidence is that attitudes toward race, "prejudice," if you will, are not nearly so isolated. This is no secret to Mr. McGill. It is a reasonable assumption that he would admit it. It is not "deceit" in the South; the "deceit" is plain elsewhere.

Yet the weight, once more, is found largely on the Southern shoulder, as he offers the picture.

As to politicians—it cannot in honesty be denied that there are those who have used race for personal gain. But a blanket indictment makes it appear virtually all have so fallen.

Mr. McGill, this newspaper feels certain, would express great respect for a Lister Hill or a John Sparkman. He might say that they have *not* misled their people or used the race issue. But the record is plain enough that, though they have not spoken as much as others on the matter, in critical vote their positions are undeniably in defense of the common Southern view that integration is not workable.

If Mr. McGill would say that such as a Hill or Sparkman vote such-and-such a way only because "they have to," then he would be maligning their integrity.

AS FOR THE high court edict, it is no shame to battle judicial ruling to the limit. Even after the Supreme Court has spoken, challenge repetitively is in order and in good faith. But this New York-expressed opinion would have Southerners refrain from such challenge. Yet, if Divine Judgment is predicted, a Southerner might forecast judicial miasma. The '54 ruling, while law in the sense that the high court's rule is static until reversed, long will be subject to further interpretation, even by that body, as to scope of such ruling.

In time the matter of school districting—coming most rapidly to the fore not in the South but in the North—will make this apparent: so may the ultimate issue, "how many integrated Negroes make a desegregated school system?"

THE SOUTH doubtless is hypersensitive. But it is such as this which makes it so. It is understandable. This is a point obviously ignored by reformers.

The honest Southerner does not put on the devil's robe; it is put on him.

RALPH McGILL

## An Archbishop Asks Christians

Archbishop Joost de Blank, of Capetown, South Africa, spoke at the recent general convention of the Episcopal Church. He expressed concern over the tendency of the church to wait on secular leadership in controversial problems involving inescapable moral decisions.



His address was an echo of many sermons and much soul searching on the part of Christian churches and their communicants. (Some churches, Protestant and Roman Catholic, have said, for example: "We will desegregate our schools as soon as the cities in which they are located have done so." The question is, can Christianity expect to be respected as a force for good if it is a follower in matters involving morality and law, rather than a leader?)

More and more the question is being posed from more and more pulpits: In moral and social issues, is it not the duty of Christianity to lead, not follow?

### Church's Function

Archbishop Joost said: "Are we (Christians) moving quickly enough or are we allowing ourselves to be overtaken by events so that the church always has to go on acting as an ambulance whereas God designed it to act as a fire engine? Is the church always to go on helping victims who have suffered in the conflagration or is its function to put the fire out? Is it enough to sit down and pass pious resolutions — and then talk warily about precipitate action, no doubt mouthing such sententious phrases as 'God's good time'? We like to comfort ourselves with the reminder that with God a thousand years is a day but forgetting conveniently that a day is with him also as a thousand years, and that what happens today may affect for good or ill the future of the world for the next 10 centuries."

In a recent interview with an American reporter, Premier Khrushchev was contemptuously facetious about Christianity.

"I have never seen any believers who were anxious to go to their heaven about which they talk so much," he said. . . . "I sent astronauts Gagarin and Titov up there to see if there were any heaven and they told me they didn't see anything of it. . . ."

In a sermon at St. Patrick's Cathedral (New York), Father Robert F. Drinan, dean of the Boston College of Law, declared that "if America and the free world are to triumph over the dark forces behind the Brandenburg Gate it will be because of the inherent truth of the spiritual values cherished by the West and despised by the Soviet Empire."

"But there is a profound division of opinion as to how America is to deepen and communicate those fundamental spiritual values on which the survival of freedom depends," he said.

### Plain Fact

Troubled by this, as are others, the Rev. Dr. Robert McCracken, in a recent sermon at Riverside Church, said:

"The plain fact of the matter is that Christianity no longer is at the hub of things. The chief influence is that of science and its mastery of the material world."

He attributed this situation to the church's "exhausting con-

cern with secondary — even trivial —issues, with the preservation of programs and organizations and with a neglect of the factors and forces that are making history and shaping the course of the world.

"Christians should come right out of the churches and into the thick of the world, offering creative moral leadership."

These are some of the voices.

It may well be that Archbishop Joost has put it best. Is Christianity to wait for leadership from the city hall, or the state capitol before it has the courage to act in any time requiring moral decisions?

If so, we may expect secular forces to become more and more "at the hub of things."

RALPH

The Atlanta

# McGILL

Journal and

## Old Stage Sets Have Collapsed

Constitution

Sun. 10-22-61

There was a reminder, in the President's eloquent words about how our lives shall be lived in uncertainty, challenge and peril, of Albert Camus' essays.



"It happens that the stage sets collapse," said Camus. "The primitive hostilities of the world rise up to face us across millinea. For a second we cease to understand it because, for centuries, we have understood in it solely the images and designs that we had attributed to it beforehand, because henceforth we lack the power to make use of that artifice. .

Atlanta, Ga.

This is precisely what has happened. The all familiar long-used sets on the stage of our national and international life have collapsed. We do not understand the world because the images we previously attributed to it are pushed off the stage or left destroyed on it. The primitive hostilities of the world face us across millinea. We are in peril and we shall be for a long time to come.

The collapse of the old stage sets of life is by no means confined to Africa, though it is there most dramatically concentrated. Few of us can even name the new nations of earth who have crowded into the U.N. in such great numbers in the past 18 months. The Republic of Niger, Mali, Chad, Gabon, Dahomey, Malagasy, and the Voltaic are but a few of these.

### Popular Image

Save for the ancient northern area about the Mediterranean which has never been part of the popular image of Africa, this huge land mass, three times the size of the United States, was until recent times a part of the comfortable day to day stage set.

Today, no piece of the old world stage set is so smashed as that of Africa, nor, of course, is this all. Laos, Viet Nam, Korea, Cuba, China—all these and others have set the world stage with new scenery. Even at war's end in 1945, the stage sets were reassuring in habit and design. Since 1948 what we have called the cold war has reached increasingly into our lives. There is no way to dam it out (or damn it out, for that matter). There is no great difference between the photographs of violence in McComb, Mississippi, on one page, or on one television screen, and those from the Congo on others.

The President said that if we can do our duty undeterred by fanatics or frenzy at home or abroad, then surely peace and freedom can prevail. Certainly, the frenzy of the Mississippians will prove as futile as that at Little Rock, New Orleans, and elsewhere. It is quite likely, however, to have a larger net cost for Mississippi and the nation than that of the past because it has more support from the top and the old myths are more firmly bolstered.

### Future Symbol

But still, the Mississippian photographed on Main Street in McComb, astride his battered victim, his fist cocked to slug again, is hardly the symbol of the future. The Negro is going to vote, even in Mississippi, and needs to be educated without discrimination. This fundamentally simple and just thing is so very minor in comparison with what the cold war is requiring of the nation that we should not permit fanatics and the frenzy to deter us from a long delayed duty.

The struggle will be a challenging one. It is a dangerous illusion to believe we shall soon meet total victory in the global struggle with communism. We shall learn to live with peril. Mr. Eisenhower has joined in urging us to learn to do just that.

We cannot run after political quacks purveying "cures" any more than persons with desperate illness may safely turn from doctors to those who peddle cures along the road. And we shall almost desperately need to understand that the old comfortable scenery on the world stage has collapsed. It will not be put back as it was.

31a 1961

# King's Role In Campaigns Ahead

*By Ralph McGill*

Governor Nelson Rockefeller, whose plans to place a Republican mayor in New York and re-elect himself as governor are formidable enough in momentum to worry Democratic party leadership, has been consulting with Dr. Martin Luther King.

A few days ago Dr. King spoke in Los Angeles. The auditorium, which seated 14,000 persons, was filled an hour before the designated time. At least another 14,000 stood outside. What made this meeting the more significant was that on the platform was much of the state's political leadership.

The inescapable conclusion is that Dr. Martin Luther King will be, if he isn't already, a very substantial factor in the political campaigns ahead, particularly the presidential one of 1964.

An ironic corollary of Dr. King's uninterrupted rise to undisputed influence is that his greatest single assistance has come from the excesses of the South, particularly in the field of the sit-ins and the freedom riders.

It is one of the tragedies of the South that so many of its people cannot yet realize that, whatever the past, there is not any longer much patience with mobs or with equating American citizenship with segregated rest rooms, buses, depots, eating places or schools.

The private field remains private. But time and events have made untenable, even preposterous, the denial of citizenship rights in the ordinary business of travel, the purchase of food and the right to equal opportunity in education. Montgomery, after its mobs, now has a desegregated bus depot. They long before had desegregated their local bus service. The skies still stand. There has been no mongrelization. Montgomery's businessmen and clergy must wonder why a bloody, thirsty mob was necessary to make so simple a decision. And it is a simple one which, when done, goes unnoticed.

The freedom riders, like the sit-ins, have called attention to the fact that all citizens may not purchase a bus ticket and travel alike on public transport. The sit-ins at lunch counters in stores where everything was for sale, save that some citizens could not buy a sandwich, had the same effect.

The freedom riders, hastily recruited, have been poorly coordinated with the over-all objective. It is likely that here and there some few persons with Communist backgrounds may have managed to infiltrate some of the hurriedly - assembled groups which tested the right of citizens holding identical tickets to travel unsegregated. If so, this will enable the critics to cry "communism."

But as Martin Luther King has said, the South will be ill advised to make this general claim since to do so would be to say that Communism was supporting the equal rights of American citizens which our Constitution guarantees, while some Southern states deny it. But then, there are those persons today to whom the processes of thought are merely a rearrangement of prejudices and fixed opinions.

So, for every freedom rider arrested and jailed, Martin Luther King and the cause he espouses are strengthened.

Dr. King is a South-made man, projected on a national screen by the extremists who despise him.

Week after week his enemies construct brier patches into which they obligingly fling him.

He consistently has out-foxed his critics, especially the more extreme ones, by hewing strictly to the line and letting the chips fall where they would. A part of his shrewdly conceived strategy has been not to become involved in politics. Many sought him out. He sought none. He has never directly employed what political influence he possesses. That it is greater than it was in the fall of 1960 is obvious. That it will continue rapidly to increase so long as the South withholds the simple right of equal use of public transportation and public facilities is sure.

Governor Rockefeller, a very sensible man, sees in Dr. King and the moral force which he has come to symbolize an opportunity to mobilize enough strength in a normally Democratic state to capture city hall in New York City and re-elect him, the Governor, to a second term.

Governor Rockfeller, given control in New York, would be a shoo-in to win the 1964 GOP nomination.

Meanwhile, nothing could be more preposterous than the belief of the old die-hard Dixie extremists that race prejudice and discriminations in American citizenship one day will return them to favor.

Action by the business, professional and religious leadership of the South, in those areas where common sense and reason are denied, urgently is needed.

RALPH

MC GILL

The Alternate to Dr. King: Constitution South Made!

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## Freedom Riders

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31a 1961

RALPH

# McGILL

Atlanta Constitution

## The Path Is Of the Pickets

Wed 8-30-61

Notes from the Southern Scene: One watches hate-organization pickets walking up and down with a banner proclaiming that the Communists are behind integrated schools.



There is a certain pathos in the sight. It is worse when you know the picket. A man looking on says, "I remember when that one was in trouble as a four-year-old. His mother who worked, because the father was an alcoholic, and later a petty thief who deserted his family, appealed for help with the juvenile authorities. Sullen, defiant, rebellious, the boy was then uncooperative. He was released. Soon he was back again. And the mother came in tears to ask for help again. As he grew in size he enlarged as a problem. He dropped out of school. He had been a trouble-maker there, and did not get along with other pupils. He began to develop a police record."

The promoters of hate recruit such material. They, themselves, rarely get into the picket lines or take any chances. They obtain the money from adults who themselves are psychopathic in their prejudices. They support the Nazi parties, the anti-Semitic groups, the anti-Negro mobs.

### Those Who Hate

The South's efforts to accept the processes of law are deterred by those who really hate. They hate everybody, Jews, Catholics, Negroes, decent, law-abiding people of any creed who work and find life at least relatively satisfying.

One feels they really hate themselves. They are convinced that somehow life has been unjust to them — that they are superior persons deprived of opportunity. (Their minds fester like boils.) They are sure it is the fault of Jews, or Negroes, or the police, the mayor, the newspapers, the "government".

Most of them are relatively young — in their twenties or thirties. They do not, as a rule, have much education. They read little save the hate sheets put out by their own, or other groups. They listen to the older ones — those who really handle the money and who give them their daily injections of hate propaganda. Their counterparts were the "black shirts" who made up Mussolini's toughs. They are kin to Hitler's Nazi guards. They are the tools, the puppets of those who really make the profits.

They manage to look as if they were all brothers . . . as, in a sense, they are. Numerically they are not many. In the riots in New Orleans, in Birmingham, Little Rock, and Montgomery, there were the haters with placards, the toughs swinging clubs or throwing stones, who had gathered there from several cities.

### Sort of Status

They glory in picketing — it is a sort of status. For an hour or so they are not unknown failures, and psychologically crippled, sick persons, but objects of attention, players strutting their brief hour . . . persons of importance . . .

"Only Communists Want Integrated Schools . . ."

"Shall Moscow Run Our Schools?"

"Don't Send Your Child to School With Niggers."

There is nothing in life for them now — and nothing much ahead. Most of them have had prison experiences—and will have more. Some will slip into a whole life of crime. They will continue to live off infrequent jobs and cash handouts from those who handle the hate money. Few employers want to have violent, unstable, sick minds on their payrolls.

So, with each job lost they blame it on "the Jews, the Nig-

WHITE (RALPH McGILL)

ger lovers". They are sure the government is filled with Communists or else it wouldn't give jobs to Jews and enact civil rights legislation, or they are sure the courts are Communist because they ordered that Negro children have an equal right to education . . .

So, they turn out — pitiful, sinister in malice, defeated, vain, bitter, defiant . . . with emptiness and barrenness of life ahead of them . . . and bitterness and hate for the present.

RALPH

Atlanta Journal

# McGILL

and Constitution

## Children of Stalin's Victims

Pt

Khrushchev's "confession" stirred a memory:

Late one afternoon on one of the days when former Vice President Nixon was on his official visit to Russia two American reporters sat in the all-but deserted cafe on the 30th floor of the Ukraina Hotel in Moscow. They were trying a bottle of the champagne from the Republic of Georgia, it being much less sweet than that from other areas. A young man of the Intourist party in charge of transporting and housing the Nixon party came into the cafe and joined the two reporters.



Sun 11-12-61

In the talk that followed he was somewhat impatient. His theme was that the Russia since Stalin's death was a new one. Those who had seen only the pre-Stalin were "obsolete." That he did not like Stalin was plain. Something from the years of terror under Stalin weighed on him.

He refused to be drawn into any discussion of Stalin, saying only that Stalin had made many mistakes. They would, he said, be made known in good time. This was at the time when Pasternak's novel "Dr. Zhivago" was still in the news. "It will be printed here," said the young man. The subject irritated him. "There will be no announcement," he said, "but one day it will appear."

### Moving Story

This young man comes to mind on re-reading a section of the report from the degrading of Stalin. It is a moving story of great poignancy even though related by Nikita Khrushchev.

In the summer of 1937 a Gen. I. E. Yakir was shot, along with the famed Marshal Tukhachovsky and other members of the top command. Many of the party stalwarts were also executed in a Stalin purge which, before it was done, took the lives of several thousand and sent even more to prison and slow death.

According to the report given the recently concluded 22nd Communist Party Congress, a letter from Gen. Yakir was found in the archives. It was addressed to Stalin. In it the general professed his lifelong loyalty: "I die," wrote the condemned man, "with words of love for you, for the party and the country, with unlimited faith in the victory of communism."

Alexander N. Shelepin, who was a teen-ager at the time of Gen. Yakir's death, read the letter to the Congress members. When he had concluded he informed the delegates that Stalin had penciled on the letter, "lout, prostitute."

Khrushchev then took up the story. He told the delegates that Gen. Yakir's last words had been, "Long live the party. Long live Stalin." He further informed the delegates that when informed of this, Stalin cursed the dead man.

### Personal Statement

Then came a personal statement from Khrushchev.

"I knew Yakir well," he said, "This year in Alma Ata, Yakir's son, who works in Kazakhstan, came to me and asked about his father. But what could I tell him?"

What, indeed. In those years Nikita Khrushchev was on the way up. He survived. Whatever it cost him, he paid. He joined in the chorus of constant praise for Stalin. When the son of his old friend, working all these years with the stigma of his father's condemnation as a traitor on his career, came hopefully to him seeking an explanation, what could he say.

What will the son of Gen. Yakir now think? His father was innocent. What will the children think, whose parents were the thousands murdered on command of that cruel and treacherous man who was, for a quarter century, an insight of god?

What motivated Khrushchev himself to confess? He has set the young men and women of Russia to thinking. There are other chapters to come.

NOV.

RALPH

Atlanta Constitution

# McGILL

## 'A Vast Future'

Fri 12-8-61

There is a sort of vastness to the future — as one struggles to picture it in imagination — which it did not have in more prosaic days although, to be sure, it always has seemed mysteriously and cavernously huge.



At Louisville, Kentucky, governors and representatives of 16 Southern and border states recently sat down to hear, and study, a report on educational goals.

Atlanta

The South is up against an old problem. Because of its history, its one-party politics, and its obsession with the past which interferes with the necessary business of getting on with the present, the South is less progressed in industrial development than its neighbors. Its per capita income, the money it spends per child in education, the salaries it pays its teachers, the numbers of its young men and women in colleges and universities, the teaching materials it provides its students, are all well below the national level. (A competent full professor in one of the region's state universities may receive $4,000 to $4,500 less per year than is paid in an Eastern university.)

### Great Opportunity

Yet, precisely because the Southern region is less developed industrially, its opportunity is the greatest. But it cannot move into that vast unknown future unless it has an educated people. The waste of talent in the South is tragically large. Unless there are more teachers, technicians, engineers, doctors, and professionally and managerially trained persons, the South will not be able to make any marked advance.

There are now about 900,000 students in Southern colleges and universities. By 1970, a little more than eight years hence, that enrollment is expected to reach 1,500,000 — perhaps, even 1,700,000. Present buildings and staffs can't begin to do the job. Two-year community colleges, better utilization of existing facilities — and additions to faculty and plant must be a part of that future.

This will cost money. The amount is large, but not excessive if one comprehends it must be spent over 16 states. By 1970 these common wealths will need, on estimate, to be spending about $700,000,000 above present budgets.

Can the South afford it?

The answer is yes — if the South wants to do it. This is much less than is spent on liquor, tobacco and recreation. It is a matter of values; and political candidates, governors, and public leaders will do well to begin communicating the need to those who must pay the bill.

There is a dismaying shortage in every professional capacity in the South — by 1975 that gap will be perhaps unbridgeable unless a determined start now is made to cope with the need.

### Requirements

Restraint, determination, and some sacrifice will be required if the goals of excellence for Southern education are to equal those of the rest of the country . . . as they now do not.

It will also be necessary to come to our senses. On the day the delegates met to consider the facts

of their educational problem, the newspapers told of mob violence in McComb, Mississippi, produced by use of general bus depot facilities by colored travelers. The issue of where a colored child will sit in school or on a trolley still is a major issue for many Southerners. If it is forever to be the South's fate to be dragged backwards by the Old South while all our prophets, economists, and our needs urge movement forward into the New South, the end result will be frustration and disaster.

The hour is late. None will dispute that the South cannot go on forever enjoying the luxury of its split personality. It must move into the future or slip backward into spiritual and economic defeat.

This is the real challenge to the South. We cannot evade it. Neither time, events, or trends permit. We are prisoners of our own American promise of equal opportunity and citizenship. To grant these rights need not bother any save the most blind to what has happened, is happening and what is to happen.

**RALPH**

The Atlanta

**McGILL**

Journal and

## Letters From India—Georgia

Constitution

Two letters, one from far-distant India, and another from south Georgia, seem to complement one another.



A delegate to the World Council of Churches, which met in New Delhi, writes: "Perhaps the most profound and enduring shock to those of us (and we are many) who for the first time have been in an ancient, Asian culture, is to find ourselves confronted with a day-to-day non-Christian environment.

Atlanta 12-10-61

"At home we grow up with the church. We begin with kindergarten. We are nursed through the crayon drawings and the playtime of the elementary grades. We progress on to junior and adult classes. Christianity comes to us from birth as something familiar, something undemanding beyond doing a little better with the annual every-member canvass and the building fund.

### Comfortable Feeling

"Even if there is no church affiliation, or any regularity of attendance, there is the comfortable feeling of being "in" a Christian community — as one feels easy in an old suit or pair of shoes.

"Here in New Delhi we have taken a little time to see the Hindu temples, the Jains interesting us most. We have, however, been made humble by the knowledge that the millions about us are not Christian and have no concept of it. They are not even religious Hindus, although some form of it is in their minds and their emotions. This is the land where Buddha began, and the Buddhist and Hindu religious are having a revival.

"All of this has convinced me," he said, "and the huge majority here, that Christianity must become involved with the problems and agonies of the world, or it will wither away. The young churches and the missionaries here have made it plain that one of their most serious handicaps is the often bitter controversy between Christians — the divisions, and the actions (which from here seem even more incredible than at home) which bar from worship people of color. Here, where all the people are colored, it is embarrassing to be a white Christian and to be asked about that ugly flaw in American Christianity."

### Second Letter

The second letter was from a lady who is a member of a church in Augusta, Georgia, which recently refused admission to two Negro graduate students, one an ordained minister.

"I somehow felt I had to write," she said. "I cannot talk here because there is so much feeling and one is misunderstood and misquoted. The strangest thing has happened. It is sad and grows the more so. Our church is not the same since we turned those people away. I am convinced it will never be the same. We go to church. We explain it away. We say they (the students) tried to get in just to show off or to get into the newspapers. We say all that and we nod and agree that this is how it was. And perhaps it was.

"I must confess," her letter continues, "I was one who originally approved denying admission. I knew it would distrub our church if they were admitted. But what I did not know was that it would disturb it more deeply and fundamentally to keep them out. But it is true. It has happened.

"One or two of us have talked about this. We are sure many feel it. Even the more angry and determined members protest too much. They reveal by their very anger and protestation their own sense of guilt and the uncomfortable fact that a Christian church can do what we have done. . . . We will never again feel so warm and good about our church . . . or about one another. Worst of all, I am sure our pastor, poor man, knows this — and like us, is troubled."

The world, alas, is no longer an easy place.

**RALPH**

**McGILL**

Thurs. 12-7-61

## A Lesson The Atlanta Is Learned

Constitution

An angry, harassed and enormously frustrated chief of McComb, Mississippi's small police force recently provided a revealing quote.



"One of my best friends down town gave me hell," he said, "for protecting the freedom riders. I'm not for them and I'm not for integration." he explained, "but it's bad for the town to have violence."

Atlanta Ga.

This lesson is one slowly, sometimes painfully, learned. But that the police chief felt lonely and frustrated is understandable. In McComb, as in other areas of Mississippi and the old cotton, or Deep South, the men "down town," the newspapers, the clergy and the political leadership, have merely passed on to the mayor and chief the order to uphold the processes of law—not because it's law but because "it's bad for business and the town," to do otherwise.

Oliver Emmerich, editor of McComb's weekly paper, was the major moral force. He, too, is lonely. Even in McComb the real people of the town were not involved in the violence. A lot of young and middle-aged toughs have been the active ones.

The police chief in McComb feels frustrated as he is torn between his real sentiments and what is "bad for the town," for a very good reason. He has not had the public support of "the men down town," nor of the political leadership of his state.

### History

When the history of this period of change for the South and the nation is written, it will indict those newspapers, the municipal and state political leadership, and the businessmen, who, from the school decision in 1954, deceived and later incited defiance of legal processes. When it became plain that violence was costly and produced defeat, much of the same leadership proclaimed "It's the law, but we are not ready for it." That they are not ready, because of a lack of coordinated planning and hard work by the more responsible elements of society to become ready, seemingly does not occur to them.

No community or state becomes ready for change without abandoning a negative resistance and openly laboring to create mechanisms and procedures to make possible the inevitable change. This applies to governors, to Chambers of Commerce, to mayors, councilmen, editors, and the many civic organizations.

Violence does not pay. It destroys. A city or state which persists in open ugly defiance, challenges tests of law in which defeat is sure. National consensus on the side of peaceful processes of law is the stronger because of the violence. Mobs have made it so. The constitutional rights of citizens are perhaps more solid than before.

### Local Feeling

Local feeling in McComb, in Birmingham, and Montgomery has learned, as did Little Rock, that it cannot stand against the national decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, the district and state courts. The state courts, as that of Virginia has recently demonstrated, are now beginning to render decisions which strengthen the broader consensus.

The people of the South, in the increasing areas where constitutional rights have been protected, have learned, sometimes to their surprise, that schoolroom classes are not "social gatherings," that the right to vote and the exercise of it are routine, and that even the business of eating a meal in a public restaurant involved none of the dread results so long proclaimed by the fearful.

There is much to be done, and violence is a roadblock to getting on with the inevitable.

In McComb "the men down town" made it possible for the mayor to say, "The law regarding our bus and railroad terminals is a federal law. We did not make it at the local level, but it is our purpose to enforce it. We are determined to this end."

There will be violence here and there—but there will be less and less of it. Violence is self-defeating.

31a 1961

WHITE (RALPH McGILL)

**RALPH**

# Mc GILL

The Atlanta Constitution

## More Tares In the Wheat

Sat., 12-9-61

A new organization, typical of those which spring up like tares in honest wheat, is one dedicated, it says, to eliminating illegitimate children from eligibility as dependent children. The members seem to be exclusively feminine and one assumes that none of them has an illegitimate child.



P. 1

This organization is founded, like so many in our time, (as well as those of bygone years), on a myth. Now and then, of course, some poor, retarded, sluttish woman makes the front page with a story of five or six children, each with a different father, and all allegedly on the public assistance rolls.

This causes those, to whom such items are like a narcotic "fix" to a heroin addict, to quiver and swear that the government is corrupt and run by witless do-gooders and wasters. Such persons do not want to learn the facts. They prefer myths.

The only trouble is that such persons and organizations assist in perpetuating harmful myths. The facts are often not readily available, while myths abound.

### *Responsibility*

There is the further fact that truth carries with it a decision as to responsibility. If there is public distress, then there is a national duty to deal with it. Coping with it is expensive. Therefore, myths not only deaden conscience, they permit the believers in them to feel self-righteous and frugal, instead of callous. The myths enable one to bypass action which is a requirement of all civilized peoples.

Hence, there are those persons who prefer to believe that aid to dependent children perpetuates and encourages the having of illegitimate babies.

The official facts are these: Only one out of eight illegitimate children receives public aid. Recent magazine stories have sensationalized the problem by selecting the exceptional abuses. These exceptions represent not more than one-half of one per cent of all aid cases for such children.

The further facts are that a vast majority of children born out of wedlock — 87 per cent— are supported by parents or relatives, or through sources other than aid to dependent children. The sensationally, and irresponsibly, publicized mothers of litters do not receive aid for each child. There is a cut-off point which varies with the states. The peddlers of lies conjure up a picture of a comfortable sinner living in luxury off aid paid her for illegitimate babies. The facts of every such case are those of ignorance, retarded mentality, a squalor of poverty and vice. There is no ease or luxury in them.

### *Prejudice*

Basic in the attempt to discredit aid to children is prejudice. Much of it stems from the fact that some of the relatively few notorious cases recently publicized have involved Negro mothers. Hence, the pamphlet-press of the various hate organizations is filled with falsehoods. There is a campaign to make the exceptions appear to be the rule.

Again, the facts—87 per cent of all illegitimate births do not receive any federal aid.

Nor are the 7,250,000 persons on public assistance a lot of chiselers. Some 5,500,000 of these are children, of which only a few are illegitimate. The others are persons more than 65 years of age, or those blind or markedly disabled. They are not bums and chiselers. It is significant that most of the complaint about aid to such persons is from two categories— the very comfortable and those callously cruel children who have not been able to get their aged mother or father on the rolls.

Secretary Ribicoff is preparing legislation to modernize the welfare system. This is long overdue. The basic legislation was written almost 30 years ago. But the need for federal aid is great and legitimate. The need will not go away. It must be met with all the responsibility a civilized people can muster. The real chiselers are those who seek to avoid their duty to the innocent and helpless.

For such chiselers the re-reading of Dickens' "Christmas Carol" is recommended.

**RALPH**

The Atlanta Constitution

# Mc GILL

## Ridding State Of Commies---

P.1

A few days ago U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy suggested that rather than becoming involved with various extremist group activities, the press in each community could do a job of exposing any existing local communist activities.



This is sound advice and it reminded me of what a good job has been done in Atlanta and in Georgia and what a prominent part the Atlanta press had played in it. The files reveal letters of appreciation from the House un-American Affairs Committee and from individuals in local government. The Attorney General of the State of New Hampshire in 1953 requested, and received, material from our files which enabled that state to expose a Communist leader who had been removed from Georgia because of his exposure here. The help was, he said, "Invaluable."

Mon. 12-11-61

### *In the News*

This Commie was recently in the news when he refused to testify before the House un-American Affairs Committee. He is Homer Chase who for about three years, headed up Communist Affairs in the South. We were able to expose him so thoroughly that he was demoted and removed to the East. He later showed up as New England's organizer and has lately been dropped by Khrushchev. There was a lot of humor in the Chase case. We were able to have an agent who lived in the same rooming house where Chase was located. Our man managed to listen in on telephone calls and check his visitors. We also were able to tail his car and identify his associates. This kept Chase in a state of frustration and anger and he finally was made so ridiculous he was taken out of the South.

Atlanta

During his stay the Daily Worker carried frequent attacks against the Atlanta Constitution and Journal. The writer was honored by several printed broadsides and personal vilification by Paul Robeson during the Progressive party campaign.

So thoroughly were the commies exposed that even those in adjoining states were forced into the open and their leaders rendered useless. The Alabama party was the most highly organized. As late as 1948 the Communist party's "Election Campaign Committee" had post-office box pick-ups in Richmond, Chapel Hill, Atlanta, Tampa, Birmingham, New Orleans and Houston.

We had a lot of fun in running them down and putting the finger on their activities and associations. One fellow we turned up had a long record of Commie activity in Georgia. His job was to get into small evangelical churches in rural communities and to use them as propaganda springboards. A careful check of the Daily Worker files in the Library of Congress revealed him as a long-time contributor of poetry to that publication. One of his verses was titled "I Am A Communist" and had as a background his work in the South. This was Don West. He apparently had been dropped by the party as was Chase.

### *Helpful Tip*

One day a young man from Cartersville walked in and told us of how he had been invited to attend suspicious discussion sessions in an Atlanta apartment. This led to the discovery that Chase had brought in a young woman from New York who was entertaining with cocktail parties, coffees and so on. Her guests were supplied with Commie literature, and otherwise checked for possible uses. The Cartersville man soon had enough of it and came to us. Chase was arrested. The young woman fled the city.

Some of the best fun was in putting the light on a Commie front organization "The Peoples' Institution of Applied Religion, inc." It was seeking to attract Negro members in rural communities. In fact, much of the activity of the Communists has been to try and pursuade the American Negro that Marxism offers him the best deal. The Negro's refusal to buy it is a tribute to his loyalty and good sense.

At any rate, this vigorous clean-up drove the Communist organizations out of Georgia and the South. This vigilance has never wavered. As a result the Communist Party in America is at its lowest ebb. The new court decision will further cripple it.

# RALPH MC GILL

New York Herald Tribune

## All the Right's Answers



A MONK of the sect which wears silk and cashmere hair shirts wrote a piece recently in which he demanded that the United States abandon the United Nations if the misguided foreigners who are members of it permit a debate on the admission of Red China. He gave a final paragraph to a demand there be no negotiations on Berlin and closed with the clarion cry, "We must strike a strong blow."

The chief quarrel one has with the extreme political right is the paradox of its omniscience and its uncertainty. It knows all the answers. In its modest publications, it repeats the answers over and over to the members who, although they, of course, know them, nod approvingly, even happily. It is so comforting to know the answers. Of course, the fellow in the White House doesn't know. His advisers don't. The people don't. But, the persons who have God in their vest pockets do know. They are careful never to challenge the White Citizens Councils or Klans in the South, lest they offend a friend. The Councils and the Klans, they also know the answers. It is so comfortable to be with those who know all the answers. It is the new aristocracy.

These omniscient ones argue for a strong blow, but if one asks, "Do you mean we should now go to war?" they shy away.

THE truth is there are persons and organizations in this country which want us to go to war. This is the meaning of many of the attacks on the President and on the United Nations. It is the explanation of the bitter criticism of Adlai Stevenson and Dean Rusk as appeasers. It is the reasoning behind those who argue we should quit the United Nations. It is the intent of those who demand there be no negotiations on the status of Berlin.

One would have more patience with this exercise if it were honest. It would at least be honorable to say that one thinks there is no hope left and that what we now should do is to fire both barrels at Mr. Khrushchev and reload and fire again while he is recovering from surprise.

We get the same sort of evasive dishonesty from some of the Asian governments, including Chiang's. They are reported as saying they doubt the United States is willing to fight to resist Communism in East Asia.

This is the same waltz we have at home. We would have more respect for these apostles of positive action if they would be positive and say, "Yes, we think we should go to war right now —this minute."

We have a job to do in this country. It is to out-do and overcome Communism. We can do it by going to war and winning. Or we can do it by rallying the nations yet free and continuing to proclaim, and live up to, the principles of freedom. We can help the nations who are emerging with what Adlai Stevenson has called "the revolution of rising expectations." We can help defeat Communism by putting an end to racial discrimination.

AND if, at the same time, the extreme political right would quit speaking in esoteric ambiguities understood only by members of the club, and say, "Yes, we mean let's fight now," then people could better understand their problem.

They could make a choice. Do we want to live Americanism and defeat Communism by the superiority of our principles and beliefs, or do we want to go on smearing the President and the State Department as being soft on Communism and charging they are unwilling to strike the necessary strong blow to save America? Let's say what we mean, and believe!

★ ★ ★

They buried Ty Cobb where the Southern reaches of the Appalachians make their last, smoky folds in north Georgia.

Some there were who, in thinking of the restless, fiery man of legend and drama, remembered words that appear in Tom Wolfe's foreword to the novel "Of Time and the River":

"WHERE shall the weary rest? When shall the lonely of heart come home? What doors are open to the wanderer? And which of us shall find his father, know his face, and in what place, and in what time, and in what land? Where? Where the weary of heart can abide forever, where the weary of wandering can find peace, where the tumult, the fever and the fret shall be forever stilled."

This well fitted the restless man who had been the most inspiring symbol of all that was best in baseball at a time when it was, in truth, the national game.

# RALPH MCGILL

New York Herald Tribune

## Facts of Life in Dixie



GOVERNOR NELSON ROCKEFELLER, whose plans to place a Republican mayor in New York and re-elect himself as governor are formidable enough in momentum to worry Democratic party leadership, has been consulting with Dr. Martin Luther King.

A few days ago Dr. King spoke in Los Angeles. The auditorium, which seated 14,000 persons, was filled an hour before the designated time. At least another 14,000 stood outside. What made this meeting the more significant was that on the platform was much of the state's political leadership.

The inescapable conclusion is that Dr. Martin Luther King will be, if he isn't already, a very substantial factor in the political campaigns ahead, particularly the presidential one of 1964.

For every freedom rider arrested and jailed, Martin Luther King and the cause he espouses are strengthened. Dr. King is a South-made-man, projected on a national screen by the extremists who dispise him. Week after week his enemies construct brier patches and obligingly fling him in.

HE CONSISTENTLY has outfoxed his critics, especially the more extreme ones, by hewing strictly to the line and letting the chips fall where they would. A part of his shrewdly conceived strategy has been not to become involved in politics. Many sought him out. He sought none. He has never directly employed what political influence he possesses. That it is greater than it was in the fall of 1960 is obvious. That it will continue rapidly to increase so long as the South withholds the simple right of equal use of public transportation and public facilities is sure.

Gov. Rockefeller, a very sensible man, sees in Dr. King and the moral force which he has come to symbolize an opportunity to mobilize enough strength in a normally Democratic state to capture City Hall in New York and re-elect him, the Governor, to a second term.

Gov. Rockefeller, given control in New York, would be a shoo-in to win the 1964 G. O. P. nomination.

★ ★ ★

THE facts of life in the South are that sooner or later all public facilities in the Southern states will be available to all citizens, exactly as they already are in the rest of the states.

What produces so much agony of spirit for those who love the South is the incredible gulf which exists for so many persons between this reality and their understanding of it. Also revealed is the near bankruptcy of honest action on the part of much of the region's business, religious, newspaper and political leadership.

Members of these compartments of our life know what the facts are. Yet, because so many members of their community are on the other side of the gulf of unawareness, they consider themselves paralyzed insofar as any leadership is concerned. They wait for an injunction lawsuit or mob violence to compel decision.

THE quality of unawareness is at times almost unbelievable. A Texas editor, for example, asked, in a recent angry editorial about the freedom riders: "How would the people of Harlem feel if loads of Klansmen started rides into Harlem?"

That an adult person would seriously seek to compare such theatrical Klan rides with the denial of equal protection of the law, and the rights of citizenship, illustrates the almost unbelievable lack of understanding of what is at issue

The freedom riders, who may or may not have overdone their protest, patently are quite another thing. A number of bus and railroad depots in the South long have been desegregated without waiting for mobs. An I. C. C. ruling soon may order all bus stations to end discrimination. But, until, and unless, that is done, the alternative is a court suit for each one.

The freedom riders may be going where they are not wanted, but they are dramatizing that the states involved are invoking laws which have been declared unconstitutional.

Must, then, the South's leadership remain paralyzed —unable, or unwilling, to act to bring an end to discriminations in public facilities until mobs or the slower processes of law substitute for local action? Where are those who have been saying, "Let the South solve its problems"?

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**RALPH**

# McGILL

## Machines and Mr. K. Teach Us

In just a moment, this will get around to Mr. Khrushchev's 20-year plan for the U.S.S.R. But, first, an introduction:



At about the time the citizens of Montgomery were participating in, or looking on with applause or dismayed disgust, as fanatic mobs slugged, cursed and attempted to kill white and Negro freedom riders, a solid, 108-car train was unloading mechanical cotton pickers at a nearby railroad depot for distribution in the state's vast cotton-growing area. The value of the cargo was set at $4 million.

About all that is left of the Old South was at the bus depot engaged in massive demonstration of violence. The mechanical cotton pickers were of much more meaning to the economy of the state: to the growth of its cities; to the loss of rural population; to the load on its schools, welfare agencies and hospitals; and to customs and laws, already nullified by the U.S. Supreme Court.

But no crowd watched the cotton pickers unloaded, although almost surely they would change Alabama more than the passengers on buses.

### Mastodonic Machine

At the same time, in Kentucky and West Virginia, a mastodonic machine was busy in the valleys where the veins of coal may be uncovered.

The "Kelly Giant" must be seen to be believed.

It drills a horizontal hole seven feet in diameter.

As it bores into a coal seam, seven extra 30-foot sections may be added on until the cutting head has a penetration reach of 216 feet.

The machine has a capacity of 15 tons of coal per minute. In actual operation it has produced as high as 25½ tons per minute. It has a penetration speed of 10 feet per minute. It is powered by a 700-horsepower diesel. The augur weighs 93 tons. A 50-ton hopper freight car may be loaded in two to three minutes. Thirty-ton trucks are filled in two minutes each.

In New York there is an announcement that a new machine has been perfected which will sew buttons on clothing at a fantastic savings in time and labor. Also ready is an embroidering machine. The patterns are punched on paper—in the manner of rolls in automatic pianos. Needles follow them and embroider any pattern in seconds.

These are merely some of the automation processes which dramatize industrial advances in the United States. The machines must be made, assembled, and maintained. But for a long period of time the loss of jobs through automation will present a problem of retraining, relocation, and other methods developed to relieve unemployment.

We must understand our problem.

### Immediate Objectives

One of our immediate objectives is to become militarily stronger. But we will disastrously deceive ourselves if we do not understand that becoming economically strong is equally necessary. We must put most of our six million unemployed back to work.

In the U.S.S.R., where certain priorities, chiefly in science and heavy industry have brought the Soviets important, even astounding advances, there is a shortage of labor. There are new lands to develop. There are known resources of metals, coal and water power yet untapped. In many areas the industrial progress of the Russians is about where ours was in 1914 — or earlier. But no economist in this country dismisses as idle boasting or propaganda that part of the Khrushchev plan which speaks of catching up with U.S. production by 1970 . . . if war does not come.

So committed are the Soviet planners to their belief that the future is an urban one, and that its problems will require vast housing complexes in which centralized eating places will be necessary, that Mr. K. speaks casually of abolishing home eating and substituting vast cafeterias, thus conserving women's time to supplement their labor force.

We must see, as the Kennedy administration grapples with these grave issues, that ours is different from that of Mr. K.'s—and requires more of us.

**RALPH**

# McGILL

## Leadership From Texas

Leadership is one of the more noble words which, because of having been mouthed to excess by every sort of podium pounder, has taken on an unfortunate triteness.



This being true, one is the more gratified to encounter leadership, especially when it is boldly conceived and executed with the calm assurance of common sense.

Dallas, Tex., has provided an example of leadership in the problem of race which is heartening and inspiring. The businessmen of that city have brought off a plan of statesmanship which is so practical and so unanswerable by the peddlers of prejudice and false premises, that it merits a round of applause on a national basis.

It is a piece of leadership which can be emulated by other cities in the South and Southwest wherever there is leadership of integrity and intelligence. It would take some doing. It would require an admission of past error. It would necessitate the initiative of mature decision. But, it is so natural a thing to do, that consciences will take on extra weight of guilt where there is failure to act.

### Long Planning

After long planning by white and colored citizens of Dallas it was quietly arranged that on a certain day a pre-determined number of Negroes would go to 40 stores and restaurants and have lunch. (Included in these was the tea room of the world famous Nieman-Marcus.) The 40 institutions were, of course, included in the citywide planning by the business leaders. One hundred and fifty-nine Negroes lunched without incident.

This was not easy for Dallas. It was the last of the large Texas cities to abandon defiance of court orders and to accept an order of desegregation of schools. This will begin with the autumn term.

But what makes the Dallas plan unique is that the businessmen realized that school desegregation meant that the Negro citizen could not, and should not, any longer be barred by various stratagems from use of public facilities.

Care was taken to make the beginning a natural one of common use of public facilities. There was no false picture of "togetherness". It was, rather, an attempt to accept the facts of life.

Dallas did not want to become another Little Rock, New Orleans, Birmingham, or Montgomery. Mobs and demonstrations do nothing but harm. Nor is this damage temporary. It endures. It certainly is no part of the right to peaceful demonstration to have filthy-mouthed harridans shrieking and spitting on school children and their parents as happened in New Orleans.

### Community Affair

Dallas planners kept their operation secret—until it was accomplished. From the beginning it was a community affair. No legal test had been made. No national organizations were involved. Secrecy was necessary to prevent inflammatory actions by agitators. Newspapers and television stations reported the success of the move after it had become news.

This municipal statesmanship was the product of the Dallas Citizens' Council. (This is not to be confused with the various White Citizens Councils pledged to defiance of law and court decisions.) The Dallas Council has 250 members. Each member represents one of the more important business and corporate enterprises. It is effectively influential in shaping city policies. (The head of it, for example, is the president of the Dallas Power and Light Co.)

The keynote of its program has been this:

"Our program advocates neither segregation nor desegregation. It confines itself to the fact that federal law decrees that Dallas schools will desegregate, and that the good citizen obeys the law."

Southern cities have the leadership to do what Dallas has done if they can persuade their newspapers and politicial demagogues to become good citizens and advocate acceptance of law rather than defiance of it.

31a 1961

...HITE(RALPH McGILL)

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the Atlanta
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Constitution

## Mr. Williams Reminds Us

Mon 3-27-61

Washington Notes — All but buried by news of the Laos crisis and White House moves to reorganize foreign aid and revive the economy, were two separate but related stories on inside pages.



The U.S. Supreme Court struck down the Louisiana laws enacted weeks ago to give Governor Davis and the state legislature powers to maintain school segregation. It also refused to allow "more time" in carrying out the court's orders.

The second news item told us that Ambassador Mennen Williams had returned from a hurried, but comprehensive tour of Africa. He had found, he said, a reservoir of good will for this country. It was significant, however, that most of the questions which plagued him concerned racial discrimination in the United States, more particularly in the Southern school cases.

It is not at all an exaggeration to say that this complex problem is one which more and more begins strongly to affect our national security, even though the damaging effect is obliquely applied.

### Security Endangered

It surely must by now be generally understood that the unity and security of the Western nations of Europe and this country are endangered by the frightening convulsions in Africa. To Algeria and the Congo have been added Angola. South Africa will increasingly become another area where events will present for our morality and vision new decisions and dangers.

Laos, where seemingly the royal army is not interested in fighting, is a strategic key to much of Southeast Asia. It is important to us and our allies in NATO. But Africa and the future of that vast continent, where a colonial system of empire is ending, is more directly tied in with the future of the Western nations.

A South American diplomat, who is also an old friend of the United States, said in discussing this country's courageous vote in favor of an inquiry by the U.N. into the Portugese colonial policy in Angola that it was perhaps wise for us to remember the Russians also are white men.

"For some time now," he said, "the Soviets have been able to present themselves before Africa and Asia as the only great power friendly to the aspirations of the other side. Here in the United States," he continued, "the riots and disorders at your schools have done you incalculable harm. The pictures of small, Negro children being harassed, spat upon, and subjected to violence by grown men and women gathered in mobs have been circulated all over the world. They offend all who see them.

### South's Opportunity

"The United States," he said, "cannot afford, for many reasons, to be considered as being spiritually or politically aligned with the South Africans. The Southern states, which in the early history of this country, made such magnificent contributions both to the philosophy of free government and to its establishment, now have a God-sent opportunity to do their history and their country a tremendous service. Your government cannot accept more racial riots and disturbances growing out of the efforts to educate children."

There is hope, though it is slight, that there now goes on in the Southern states a re-thinking of the problem. Only in Mississippi and Alabama and Louisiana does there still seem to be a malignancy of defiance in the top political leadership, and state of mind to match that symbolized by Hendrik F. Verwoerd in Johannesburg. What Southern politicians desperately need is some way to save face.

If the South's business, professional, religious and media-of-information leaders will publicly determine to accept the processes of law, and assist their implementation when ordered, the South could make a contribution which our country and Western unity and needs desperately require. Without such combined and determined leadership, it can't be done.

Mobs which seek to stop children and young men and women from going to school are not an acceptable feature of this, the last half of an exciting and critical century.

RALPH
the Atlanta
# McGILL
Constitution

## Exposing A Danger

Mon 4-3-61

A substantial public service was tendered the nation by the staunchly conservative Santa Barbara News-Press and the Los Angeles Times by exposure of the dangers of the secret, cell - organized John Birch Society, which sought to cloak its fascism with anti - communism.



The organizer of this secret society, Robert Welch, a New Englander, reportedly had said in letters and in a book so extreme his supporters have sought to withdraw all copies from circulation, that Dr. Milton Eisenhower, the late Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, and Allen Dulles, then and now head of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, were members of the Communist underground. The organization also denounced every President since Roosevelt, including Dwight D. Eisenhower and John Kennedy, as dupes of, or members of, the Communist conspiracy.

The more extreme followers of the late Senator Joe McCarthy have joined in. They apparently are supplying the secretly organized society with new direction.

### Correct Estimation

The two California newspapers, one a small daily in Santa Barbara, and the other the nationally known Los Angeles Times, correctly estimated the John Birch Society, and all like it, to be as dangerous as communism. Former Vice President Nixon has publicly joined in condemning the John Birch Society.

Such activity offers a blueprint to disaster in America.

This Birch group, in a number of communities, already has carried out orders. Its members have infiltrated a few local PTA's, civic clubs, church boards of deacons or vestries, and other community organizations.

Here and there across the country Rotary, Kiwanis and Lions Clubs have been astounded by some articulate, aggressive persons who took over the microphone at the conclusion of meetings and launched into a somewhat wild, extreme denunciation of local leaders as Communists or fellow travelers. PTA groups have been thrown into disorder and confusion by similar tactics. Vestries and other church governing groups, women's guilds and chapters, have begun to be surprised by persons engaged in character assassination of the minister or church leaders.

This is according to the society's secret plan, which is to make Americans fear one another and afraid to talk.

### Lot of Noise

This group, though not numerically large, seeks to give the impression of many by making a lot of noise. Like all fascist-or semi-fascist groups, they seek to impose the silence of fear and doubt.

The late Huey Long once said that fascism would come to this country, but it would appear in another guise. It would come wrapped in the flag claiming to be a savior of democracy.

The attorney general of California, who is conducting an investigation of the fanatic groups of the right, who, of course, are as dangerous as communism, gave six tests which will enable Americans to determine whether an organization advocates extremist doctrine.

1. Does the organization attack churches and schools with blanket accusations?

2. Does it attack other traditional American institutions with wild, unsupported charges?

3. Does it label everyone with whom it disagrees politically as un-American or subversive?

4. Does it try to rewrite modern history by blaming American statesmen for wars, communism, depression and other world ills?

5. Does it resort to crude pressure tactics such as anonymous phone calls or letter-writing?

6. Do the spokesmen of the group appear more interested in the size of their money collections than in the principles they purport to espouse?

"Apply these six tests," he said, "and you will avoid entangling memberships with such groups as the American Nazi Party, the Communists, the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, the Cinema Education Guild, the Muslims and others of that type."

RALPH
the Atlanta
# McGILL
Constitution

## The Faces of Unemployment

Washington Notebook—There is nothing attractive about the visage of unemployment. It is especially repelling and ugly when it is the image of jobless, frustrated, often dangerously disenchanted young men—even boys and girls in their teens.



We will have an increase in juvenile crime and delinquency for a long time to come unless, as we say, "something" is done about it. The economy is one place where something must be done. But where does one start?

Mon 4-10-61

We, the United States, have just completed the 13th consecutive quarter during which at least one out of every eight teen-age boys has been unemployed.

But the picture becomes the more clear, and the more disturbing, when one takes off another layer of the Department of Labor statistics. Among the young people who take their youth and hopes to the market place, who is hurt the most? The answer is:

"The Dropouts."

This is a phrase used to describe those without a high school diploma. Maybe they didn't even get to high school. Many did not. A shocking number of youngsters in their teens never went past the fifth grade.

(The same thing is true of many adults.)

### Job Experience

The job experience of the dropouts is described as "very severe." Many of these, a high percentage, marry early. If you want another chapter in this unhappy story, go to the courts and check on the number of abandoned young mothers and children. But they are a separate chapter. This is about the jobless.

We are now into the decade of the sixties.

In these 10 years, now so laboriously and disappointingly begun, what the Labor Department describes as an "unparalleled 26 million new young workers," will come into the job market.

If current levels continue, 7½ million of these, more than a fourth of the total, will be "dropouts."

Some of them, in desperation, defiance, and a sort of helpless "the-hell-with - it - then" attitude, will turn to petty theft, and then to major crimes. They will marry and beget children. Some will convert their young wives into criminals and prostitutes. Others will desert wives and babies. This is a pitiful story. We already

have several millions of "dropout casualties." The prospect of nearly eight million more of them in the 10 years now begun is a morbid but challenging prospect.

## New Demands

The truth is we have, in part at least, been educating for a time that is past. Our trade schools have not really scratched the surface in looking to the demands of the future—the new demands. Somehow society must try to reduce, by new means, the challenging crop of dropouts.

There is another chapter to this long story. It includes such saddening subjects as the unskilled, who are as badly off as the dropouts for the simple reason they are grown-up dropouts. This chapter has special relevance to the South and its school problem.

Negroes tend to have the least amount of educational attainment. (The U.S. Supreme Court was never more right, honestly and practically, when it said that the segregated system, as established, was not equal and was discriminatory.)

The South and the nation are paying an increasingly high price for the long years of discrimination. The rate of Negro unemployment is double that of their white contemporaries who are out of work. They account for one of every 10 workers, but two of every 10 unemployed. They include the highest percentage of dropouts, and of the unskilled — who are the adult dropouts.

This is a national problem—of men and women out of work. Of the 150 major labor markets in the United States, an even 101 have a "labor surplus." That's a polite word for people out of work.

But of them all, the dropout teen-agers are the saddest. What will we do about them?

RALPH McGILL

# History Repeats Itself

Facts, as the sullen, brutal race-riot mobs remind us, are stubborn things, which are most meaningful when there is a new, dynamic idea within them.



A new idea which replaces an old one usually is rejected or coldly received because to accept it would be to surrender a long-held concept which has grown comfortable, like an old hat.

In a sense, history today is repeating itself. In the 1850's a furiously angry South arrested, beat and killed abolitionists. "If the abolitionists would only leave us alone," said the South, "we would have peace."

But, of course, the only way to get abolitionists to go away was to end slavery. The South allowed itself to be maneuvered into a defense of the evil of slavery and destruction followed.

The various movements of today, the sit-ins, the freedom riders, and the moves for equal citizenship, which the Constitution and the statutes provide, are not going away until the admitted injustices are removed.

This, in essence, is the South's dilemma.

It is a new situation which a great many persons find difficult to accept. They are further confused by captive Southern politicians, who have so long preached and supported defiance of federal courts and laws they are again deliberately deceiving the people who, whatever their passions, desperately need to know the facts.

## Danger

A good many Southern leaders are saying, for example, that the so-called freedom riders are provoking the riots, that if they would stay away, all would be well.

Still others assert that this is communism. Here is a danger. These persons do not mean to be servants of communism. But they are. If we begin to say that because a Negro citizen seeks to use the rights of his citizenship he is a Communist, or Communists are inspiring him, then indeed will we be serving Moscow.

The Communists will certainly seek to exploit these movements. They would like nothing better than to be able to demonstrate that the South and the United States do deny rights to the Negro citizen which the Constitution and the courts say exist.

Let us be honest with ourselves. Does the Negro in this country, North or South, need a Communist to tell him that he is in many places denied access to the ballot; that his government tells him he has a right to an equal share in public education, but some states and communities deny it; that he can travel on a desegregated bus, but that some places refuse him. For our own sake let us face our problem honestly.

Shall we deceive ourselves by saying this is communism? Communism is an ever-present danger. But we should not serve it by saying equal rights of citizenship is communism.

## Civil Rights

"Civil rights" are defined by Webster's New World Dictionary as "those rights guaranteed to the individual by the 13th and 14th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States and by certain other acts of Congress; exemption from involuntary servitude and equal treatment of all people with respect to the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property, and to the protection of law."

It is this paragraph which confronts us as our central problem. Our public leaders ought to be honest enough to advise those who look to them for help that this is the issue. It does not mean, as our most vulgar demogogues have said, that equal citizenship rights means one must associate with, marry, or have dinner with, Negroes. It does mean that until we do what is morally, and legally, required of us we will have no peace.

Surely we have learned that mobs cannot take over direction of our lives.

How odd it is that we find it so hard to respond! Most of the nation long ago ended legal discriminations. Must we, in a few states, like Pharaoh of old, continually harden our hearts until the plagues are loosed heavily upon us?

31a 1961

(WHITE ( RALPH McGILL)

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## An Idyl Of the KKK

Sat. 5-5-61

As a young reporter, to whom a wad of copy paper and a soft copyreader's pencil were comparable with an emperor's medal and a queen's decoration, I went to work at about the outset of two major evils of the twenties — the Ku Klux Klan and prohibition.



The Klan was, (and is), a racket for promoters, who got about seven dollars out of each ten they took from the suckers. It became politically powerful and pretty soon, deluded by its power, was committing murders, assaults and intimidation. Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest had disbanded the original Reconstruction-era Klan because it had become a haven for rascals. If his ghost ever deigns to look down from heaven on earth below, he knows how right he was . . . and how unchanged things are. In Indiana the head Klansman went to the penitentiary for raping and murdering an innocent girl. In almost every other state there were a few murders and many beatings and abuses of the due processes of law.

The nation was sickened by the excesses and evil of the 20s. There was no Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest to dissolve the Klan because it had become a haven for rascals and violence, but it nonetheless eroded away save for a few eddies here and there.

### Feeble Revival

There was a feeble revival during the thirties and this was, save for a few examples of old-time lawlessness, merely a sideshow. It was, in the main, a political mechanism used in some states to help out with purchasing departments.

There was an Imperial Wizard in this period who was a veterinarian. This produced the jest that he was the first man professionally prepared to handle the membership.

Looking back at this second, more pedestrian period, I guess my favorite Imperial Wizard was the Rt. Hon. Hiram Evans, known familiarly to all newsmen as "the Wiz." He was an amiable man, who never went in for violence. While he spoke pontifically and sonorously about Klan virtues, he always appeared to reporters to have tongue in cheek.

Later on the Klan seemed to feel this way, too. One Sunday they got together in an Atlanta hotel and handed "the Wiz" the black spot, somewhat in the manner of Blind Pew delivering one to the Captain at the Rainbow Inn of "Treasure Island" fame. They seemed to feel "the Wiz" had wrought more mightily in the field of asphalt sales than in the klaverns.

Nonetheless, it was this same Imperial Wizard who participated in one of the most charming idyls of the time. Yet, it, too, seemed to disenchant the members who had been more contented under the veterinarian.

### New Bishop

There had come to Georgia a new bishop for the Roman Catholic diocese, a charming, intelligent and delightful gentleman, The Very Reverend Gerald O'Hara. During the days of the Klan of the '20s it had bought an old Southern mansion, white columns and all, on Atlanta's Peachtree Street, and used it as an "Imperial Palace."

When the Klan of the '20s had collapsed under the weight of its crimes, the building was put on the market. The Roman Catholic Church, which had been one of the major targets of the KKK's brand of "100 per cent Americanism" purchased the old Klan "palace."

The building, where once the sheeted Kluxers had counted their money and from which their anti-Catholic, anti-Jewish, anti-Negro literature had gone, became the rectory and a beautiful cathedral was erected beside it.

When the time came to dedicate the cathedral, Bishop O'Hara questioned newspaper friends about inviting the Imperial Wizard. They felt out "the Wiz" and found him agreeable. The invitation was sent and received. On the day of the ceremony "the Wiz" was there in a pew close up to the front.

Klan mentality seems to grow more stupid through the years, as the third, and present, revival demonstrates. There has not been anything humorous about it since "the Wiz" departed.

RALPH
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## The Unknown General Lee

An explanation of the bitterness and strife created by the attempt to commemorate the strong federal union of states which grew out of the Confederacy's defeat in the Civil War lies in the South's popular, but inaccurate, images of its heroes.



The images of the military leaders stop short with the end of the fighting. General Robert E. Lee is remembered as the deeply sorrowing man who surrendered at Appomattox.

The great pity, for example, is that it is not the postwar Lee who is the image held in Southern hearts—rather than the sorrowing man at Appomattox. There was another Lee. Yet, the General Lee who, after the surrender, devoted his life to the education of young men, and who urged them to forget sectionalism and be good citizens of the United States, is not one fully revealed in the textbooks of today or in the popular legends.

Wilmington, N.C.

### Thorough Education

The Lee who spoke from the small college named for George Washington, and urged upon the South "the thorough education of all classes of people" as a primary need of the region, is all but unknown to the South of the post-Civil War years.

The Lee who urged the South to "abandon all their local animosities and make your sons Americans" is ignored. Instead, we hear General Lee's name being invoked by those who wish to make Southerners feel hostility toward their country.

The Lee who declared, in advice to the South, that a major aim of every Southerner should be to unite in "the allayment of passion, the dissipation of prejudice and the restoration of reason," is the Lee largely unknown.

Yet, this was the real Robert E. Lee. It was this Lee who attempted to provide the leadership of the years after Appomattox. The passions of lesser men prevailed over the counsel of Lee, who accepted the reality behind the polite, generous exchanges at Appomattox.

The South did not proceed in mighty effort to educate all classes of its people, to allay passions, prejudice, to restore the rule of reason. It did not accept the advice of General Lee to "abandon all local animosities and make your sons Americans."

### The Tragedy

The denial of the real General Lee is, in essence, the tragedy of the South's position today. Because it did not accept the principles for the new South as laid down by him, the most noble figure of the Civil War, it still has illogical discrimination and aberrations of outlook, all its classes of people are not well educated.

Too many of the South's young people have not been taught to think of themselves first of all as good Americans. Rather, many have been conditioned to react first as regionalists, or even more narrowly, as states righters in opposition to the Union.

Having thus ignored the best leadership, and followed too much of the worst, the South has been cursed with a blind orthodoxy of defeat, martyrdom, and a chip-on-the-shoulder attitude which causes them to defend even that which is unworthy merely because it is Southern.

It is almost unbelievable that at this present point in history, Southern leadership should be in opposition to the decision of courts, and to the simple, necessary granting of full citizenship rights of all citizens. A people who would prefer to do what is right have been grievously deceived by leaders who have sought to make it appear that the federal government is hostile to their best interests and those of the region.

The plight of education in the South is one of desperation. Yet, there is leadership which deceives the people by saying that the federal government seeks socially to mix the races, as if schools meant only dances or parties.

The South badly needs to heed its most notable hero—General Lee.

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Journal and

## Education Is For Children

The Atlanta Constitution

News Story: A total of 24 school districts in the South, including Atlanta, Dallas, and Galveston, will for the first time desegregate their schools this fall, bringing the total number of districts to 807. In addition, six colleges are desegregating.



Slowly, but at an accelerated pace, the South is learning that the problem of education involves children, young men and women.

How, then, did the politicians, the fat, the lean, the cigar-smoking and tobacco-chewing types, the neat, the pious who had a private line to God, the ambitious who did not care about children but were willing to sacrifice them for political advancement—how did all these make it their business?

Sun. 5-7-61

If, from the beginning the problem had been left to the school people there would have been little trouble. The U.S. Supreme Court decision was a wise and temperate one. It recognized there would be difficulties. It said that some states would need more time than others. All it asked was honest beginnings. Just that—honest beginnings—nothing more.

### Why?

Atlanta

The school people could have done that if left alone.

But, in some state capitals there were men with ambitions to match those of Macbeth, as revealed in Shakespeare's play of that name. He was led, by the evil witches who furthered his ambitions, to murder and kill. But, at last, even Birnam Wood moved against him and he was finished. The Statehouse politicians, by giving ear to the haters, the fanatics, and those who were themselves ambitious to attain to the governor's office, the U.S. Senate or the Congress, brought shrieking, brutual mobs to their cities. They produced closed schools, or chaotic, impotent classrooms. They paralyzed business in their communities. Some even made troops necessary.

Not only that, but they attracted the rats who dwell in such ruins . . . the mob-inciters, the Nazi party which apes Hitler, the dynamiters, the anti-Semitic vermin.

They loosed all this . . . and why?

Only children and their opportunity to become self-supporting, informed citizens, were involved.

Why, then, did the politicians poison the issue and muddy the stream of education?

The people are beginning to figure it out.

Slowly, but surely, the picture comes into focus. The Southern people are coming to see that it was not true, as the political

leadership said and as the fanatics insisted that schools would be overrun. They came to see, slowly, that from May, 1954, the court had provided for beginnings.

There was yet another important step in this process of learning.

## Not Overrun

The people began to comprehend that their schools would not be overrun, also that the junctions of American churches, of opportunity, and promise had produced Negroes who were teachers, professional people, and good, salt-of-the-earth middle-class people. And all the while, as the hot-eyed haters passed out and mailed out literature about dirty and diseased Negroes, about criminals and illiterates, the people come to understand it would not be these who would be in the schools.

So, the South learns. In Tennessee 400 Negro students will go to classes in 11 districts. North Carolina will double its number of integrated pupils. Texas is stepping up its pace. So is Florida. Six colleges and universities in the South are newly admitting Negro students.

The South is learning that its politicians and extremists have deliberately deceived them . . . the promise of America can, and must, include all its people. We see anew the strength of truth.

**RALPH**

# McGILL

## Curriculum, U.S. Jobs---

How much does the shibboleth phrase "local control" contribute to cheat your children of equal opportunity in education?



In his superbly conceived and written book "The Making of the President, 1960," Theodore H. White recounts a conversation during the primary in West Virginia where posts on local school boards are, as in other states, bitterly contested.

"Curriculum, hell," said a local politician to White, "they don't give a damn about curriculum, half of them don't know what the word 'curriculum' means. School board means jobs—it means teachers' jobs, janitors' jobs, bus-driver jobs. They'll pass curriculum in five minutes and spend two hours arguing about who's gonna be bus driver on Peapot Route Number One. Bus driver means a hundred and sixty dollars a month for a part-time job."

In the winter of 1938 the writer, answering a request from a young principal in a remote rural area of Georgia, made a talk at his school. The building was a disgrace. None of the three board members had been past the fifth grade. One, the principal confided in me, ran the small general store and was also the major moonshiner in the county. The level of literacy was low. There was no incentive to attend school.

## Folk Dancing

The new principal had organized and taught a class in folk dancing. He also had filled a dozen or so large cotton-picking sacks with straw for use as gymnasium-type mats and trained a team of tumblers.

The audience was one to break the heart. It was, with few exceptions, one depressed by generations of poverty and educational lacks. The faces of three old women who wore faded sun bonnets and had snuff sticks in their mouths remain indelibly in the memory of that evening.

Here, too, local control meant teachers to shop at the store, bus drivers and teachers politically beholden, money to-spend for supplies, etc. These were the really important items—not the quality of teaching or curriculum.

There is no quarrel with local control of education as a theory. But, it has no virtue per se. It is more often selfish and inefficient, with the main eye on the politics and economics of local control rather than on educating children.

This also is true of a good nine-tenths of the opposition to federal aid to education. The richer states, which will have to pay the bill, have some to say, "Why should we pay to educate the children of the poorer income states? They forget the mobility of this country's population. They have not understood the origin of their slum costs in education, welfare, unemployment, juvenile delinquency, crime, charity hospital costs, etc.

## Low Income States

Voters in the low income states, most of which are in the South, have been deceived by their political leadership in the matter of federal aid to education, as they have in the problem of desegregating their schools. History is going to deal severely with this record of deception by the public leadership.

But, in the meantime, greed, political and economic, continues to prate about the dangers of imaginary federal control. ("Pretty soon they'd be telling you what to teach your kids.") This ignores the fact that legislation could, and would, prevent this. It also fails to note the fact that thousands of children presently are not being taught enough advanced high school math, physics, chemistry and English to be accepted at a first rate college.

It also neglects to explain that the vocational schools are, with but few exceptions, not teaching advanced techniques. How many parents have noted the latest ads for experienced welders? "Knowledge of metals required. Minimum education two years high school and two years trade school."

Chiefly it is rural children who are the most cruelly discriminated against by local leadership which insistently defends the inequities of the status quo.

31a 1961

# RALPH McGILL

## To Make Vote Meaningful . . .

Washington Notebook: A Southern congressman recently was heard in severe criticism of the U.S. attorney general for what was described as interference in the affairs of his, the representative's, state, in the matter of voting rights for qualified Negro citizens. At the same time the government was feeding a high proportion of this gentleman's destitute constituents and he was, in his own district, taking credit for the same.



This latter federal activity was not classified as interference. This typical ambidextrousness of those identified here as "cone pone statesmen" caused a veteran Washington correspondent to remember a comment by the late Sir Wilmott Lewis, for 30 years the Washington representative of the London Times:

"In fairness to Senator Bilbo," said Sir Wilmott, "it must be said that he has the unique distinction of combining in his sole person the sum total of all the disadvantages attaching to the Democratic form of government."

In the nation's capital one is almost daily reminded of this stereotype representation which some Southern states are receiving. The tragedy of some of these congressmen is that they know better and suffer a sort of spiritual dying.

### Opposition to Vote

That the right to cast a ballot should be opposed angrily and with the most crudely devised methods of obstruction is an indictment which cannot be justified. The record of the past and present is one best not recalled. Yet, there are state election officials who brazenly argue that the reason so few Negroes have been qualified to vote is because they have not sought to register.

That the federal government must move to force the several states to grant this basic essential of representative government is a rebuke no thoughtful Southerner can afford to ignore.

Nor is it merely the Negro who is being cynically deprived of voting rights. C. Van Woodward, one of the nation's best historians, speaking recently in Arkansas on the deplorable state of voting in the South, said:

"The elemental right to vote comes first, of course, and there is plenty to do in that direction, but the right to vote is not enough. After all, they let people vote in Outer Mongolia as well as between massacres in the Congo . . . For the vote to be meaningful, however, it has to mean something, and horse-and-buggy state constitutions and our mal-apportioned state legislatures are making the vote increasingly meaningless. This is politically shared by Yankeedom (as witness Michigan's pathetic plight), but it is especially serious in the one-party South. The under-representation of urban areas and the over-representation of rural counties are notorious scandals of long standing. . . .

### The Rule

"Rural over-representation, moreover," said Van Woodward, "does not mean the rule of honest farmers and rural folk. It means rule by rural politicos and county rings in cahoots with big land owners and corporate businesses located in cities of the North and South. It means the financial starving of urban constituencies . . ., the interference with local public schools and peaceful adjustment to federal law. . . .

"Further," he continued, "there are now more African ambassadors in Washington than there are desegregated dime store lunch counters in the entire domain of the ex-Confederacy. It is easier for a Negro from West Africa to get a 21-gun salute in the national capital than it was for Booker T. Washington to get dinner at the White House in 1901, or for his grandson to get a cold ham sandwich in a bus station in Alabama in 1961.

"Jim Crow," he concluded, "is dead. It is his ghost that is haunting the South."

One may, of course, think what one will. But history will hardly be kind to those Southern leaders who deceived their people instead of assisting them in a time of decision which many found difficult.

RALPH McGILL

## In What Furnace...?

The scene was the darkened line-up room in Atlanta's police headquarters. It was routine.



All persons arrested are brought before officers for identity reasons.

Atlanta's high schools earlier had been quietly integrated, according to the court order. There was not merely an absence of violence; there was no disorder. All children had behaved magnificently.

Five persons had been picked up at the schools by the vigilant police officers for violation of a city ordinance.

They came one at a time. One politely gave his age (17), name, school, address, said he had never been arrested before.

One snarled, his face livid with hatred. He began to spit words before the questions came:

"I was there because I don't want niggers in schools. You like niggers. I don't want them in school."

"Just your name, son, not a speech," said the officer, quietly, kindly.

The boy gave it. He was 17 years old. He stood there with one thumb hooked into the waistband of his too-tight pants. With the other he absent-mindedly lifted a soiled red sweater and scratched his bare stomach.

### A Fat One

The next was fat. His hair stood up in a peak. There was an almost vacant look on his face. He answered the questions. There was a pause. Then came the officer's voice, quiet, easy:

"Son, we found your car. You had left your identity cards and your pistol in the car. Why did you leave your pistol?"

"Well," he said, "I left it because I didn't want to shoot anyone yet."

One wondered if he meant it as it sounded. He did not seem very alert. There was a vacuous look about him. But that was what he said. "I left it because I didn't want to shoot anyone yet."

All four were in the same pattern. One was, he said, a member of the Young Knights of the Confederacy. Another had run, and in the running had thrown away a "hawk" knife. This is a knife such as roofers use to cut rolls of roofing. It is a wicked, deadly weapon.

These four were from DeKalb County, adjoining Atlanta's Fulton County.

### The Fifth Man

There was a fifth—William Cody of Arlington, Va., a deputy fuehrer to Fuehrer Lincoln Rockwell, who has ambitions to become the American Hitler.

Cody's mouth was a sneer in a face hard with defiance. He sneered as he talked. He had come from Virginia to stop the niggers, he said. He had no job, he said, his business was Nazi business.

There was no pathos in him. At 24 he is sick with the dreadful cancer of Hitler, Goebbels and Company.

The teen-agers broke the heart. They cannot be dismissed. After all, guns and hawk knives can kill and wound people. Young hatters can do violent things, as the FBI crime statistics show. And they had asked for it. Two brought weapons.

But, none the less, they were pitiful.

("What the hammer? What the chain?
In what furnace was thy brain?")

Rage grew against those who had incited them and sent them. . . .

Where were the older men, those who direct the hate organizations? Absent, as usual. These slimy, shrewd carrion birds always are careful not to involve themselves. They poison young minds and send them out to picket with hate.

It is an old, shabby story. Looking at teen-agers, already poisoned, one damned in his mind those who had taught them to be what they are. . . .

They did not learn it at school or at church.

Where? Only those who know can answer.

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## Experimenting With Ignorance

On the day that Atlanta's schoo children and parents made history by a firm repudiation of extrem ists and agitator with a quiet inte gration of fou high schools, a federal judge in Louisiana wa handing down a text for thos Southern states whose political leadership is still promising to de y court or ders.



Atlanta, Ga.

"This is not the moment in history," said Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Wisdom, "for a state to experiment with ignorance."

There couldn't be a better text.

The three-judge court of which Judge Wisdom is a member hand-ed down another important decision in the field of education. It is one so plainly right that there can be no questioning of it.

The court struck down as unconstitutional, and as a "transparent artifice" to deprive school children of their constitutional rights, a segregationist Louisiana law. It was one which permitted a school district to abandon public education when confronted with a court order to integrate its classes.

The local option law, said the court, violates the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. If a state maintains public education in some districts and abandons it in others, then it certainly is true that there is not equal protection of the law.

### First Day

When Atlanta's first day was done there was a good reaction. Even on the part of those who had been strongly opposed, there was the realization that the presence of nine neat, well-mannered, talented Negro children in the schools was not a calamity. They came from Christian homes. Their parents were persons of excellent reputation.

And there was offered, too, the deadly parallel of juveniles from an adjoining county who, in conduct, and action, including the possession of weapons, did not appear as very good advertisements for the Klans and Councils which had poisoned and exploited their youth with a philosophy of hate.

The Atlanta program was the product of many persons and organizations. Even so, it could not have been possible had it not been for the fact that thousands of mothers and fathers who were not cogs in organizational work displayed such a sound, common-sense awareness of the alternative . . . mobs, closed schools, chaos.

They did not need the text from Louisiana that this is no time to experiment with ignorance.

They had come to see that the primary issue was not at all how they felt about the 1954 court decision. Their children's future, not the parents' prejudices, had been seen in proper perspective. The fact that there would be a few well qualified Negro children among the thousands of pupils, was not, after all, important. What was, and is, important is that every child shall have a chance at education in a world where economic competition increasingly demands skills and knowledge.

### Parents Think

The parents had had time to think about New Orleans. They had decided it was not the place of mothers to be on the sidewalks about a school shrieking curses and spitting on police and those students who were going to school.

Communism and its propaganda had no help from the school children of Atlanta or their parents.

President Kennedy has said he hopes Atlanta's steady, quiet display of patriotism, common sense and respect for law will be an inspiration to other Southern cities.

It may be helpful in causing other communities to realize that the problem, under the law, is not really what the fanatics have said it is. The court decision wisely took into account the difficulties. It required only honest beginnings. Southern business and professional men, and finally, its political leaders, must soon make a decision. Shall they continue to coddle the defiers of law, the preachers of hate, the shabby peddlers of trashy, vulgar printed material which is mostly lies? Or shall they lead the way to community peace and progress?

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## Cans, Churches And Tall Towers

Sun. 11-26-61

Dr. C. Paul Musselman, of the National Council of Churches of Christ, and Robert C. Cosgrove, president of the National Canners Association, both chose the same week to fret about the psychological and sociological effect of urban life.



Dr. Musselman, in saying that the Christian church is failing the cities, thinks theological training needs imaginative revising because the church is failing in "the heart of urban civilization, in the tall towers and the asphalt jungles of our cities." Atlanta, Ga.

Areas where homes, duplexes and small apartment buildings are replaced with structures of more than four stories invariably show a drop in church participation from 15 to 50 per cent.

Canner Cosgrove also is calling for more imagination and new techniques. The tall towers or urbanization are, it seems, not merely a problem for lazy, unimaginative church staffs, but for the can business as well. Dwellers in such structures are the real users of gadgets.

### Warning Finger

Hence, Mr. Cosgrove is wagging a warning finger at the industry he heads. Just as Dr. Musselman says there is not enough imagination and challenge going into the heads of theologians, so Mr. Cosgrove finds it with cans. Fruit, juice, vegetables and soup go into them. But not enough ideas.

How about a flip-top can, he asks, with what seems like a certain plaintiveness? He also nudged the builders of tall towers and homes. How about, he wants to know, a place where a home dispensing unit for cans could be installed?

The can, it seems, has encountered a bit of hard luck. Like so many things (churches included), the can has been elbowed and tripped on the turns in the unending competitive sprint of modern technology and urban psychology. The refrigerator design, for example, is better suited for storing frozen food than cans.

Stove manufacturers also had a plea from the canners' president. They might, he suggests, develop a special unit in which the whole can could be inserted, heated, top removed and the product poured into a serving dish.

It is at once apparent that the dwellers in tall towers (not ivory) are a new breed. Dr. Musselman may well have put his finger on it when he theorized that in these days of crises and pressures, families who move into such apartments are seeking a life which is less involved in the affairs of their fellow men. This could well be. Nor is this a phenomenon merely of towering towers. In today's suburbia, there is less and less of what used to be called neighborliness. Psychologists say the attitude grows. Once the door closes in one of the huge apartment houses, life is shut out and one is alone.

### Cliff Dweller

Once alone, the city cliff dweller wants gadgets. It is something of a shock to learn that the electric can opener did not fill this requirement. To stand and watch the electric can opener at work is a fascination. It purrs gently, like a contented cat, as it cuts the tin. One thinks of dams being built, rivers confined and sent rushing into turbines, and of thousands of miles of wiring and transformer connected to open a tin can. But still this isn't enough for us moderns. We need a stove which automatically will heat the can, open it and pour it in the serving container. The gods of Olympus never had it so good as the inhabitants of the towering towers. Except, of course, Dr. Musselman says we haven't found a way to heat up a soul or the human spirit and pour them into a serving dish of faith.

Twentieth Century man, frustrated, excited, dismayed, may no longer use religion as a yardstick of values. What, then, will he employ?

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

## Most Exciting School Story

Sat. 11-25-61

School Notes from California: In the autumn of 1963, the State of California is expected to become the No. 1 state in population. The recent July estimate was 16,445,000. By mid-1963 it is anticipated the total will be more than 17,665,000.



California school people, perhaps the most energetic and successful in obtaining public support for their schools, are increasingly concerned. But no school authorities are so agitated as those of Los Angeles. It is this vast, far-flung sprawling city, plagued by many and varied problems, which offers the most exciting story in American public education.

The city's school system covers an awesome 825 square miles. A few years ago when two aircraft collided over the city and fell, killing some children at a school, panic swept the city. For a time no one knew which school was hit. Thousands of mothers and fathers jammed telephone lines and created a traffic crush with their cars and taxis as they hurried frantically to the school attended by their children.

### Two-Way Radio

That crisis enabled the schools to obtain what they long had needed for such a huge area — two-way radio for the school buses, cars of officials, and the schools themselves. It is essentially the system used by police departments. This has enabled responsible supervisors and authorities to have immediate information of any problem of disaster, delinquency or race which may arise in the almost 1,000 square miles to be covered.

The result is that Los Angeles has had no real incidents of violence involving any of the several racial minorities in the schools. The city has absorbed thousands of children of Negro families who have moved there from the South. There are also, of course, Mexican, Japanese, Chinese, and children of other races in L.A. classrooms. The job done in this field is phenomenal.

School attendance increases each year in Los Angeles by more than 30,000 students. This indicates a need of roughly 1,000 new classrooms annually. There are 200 school days. This translates into the need for five new rooms each school day. There are almost three-quarters of a million children in Los Angeles schools, from kindergarten through junior college. The figure is above 675,000. It grows continually.

More than 550,000 of these are in elementary and secondary schools.

Yet, so efficiently have the school authorities proceeded that out of almost 700,000 pupils, only 12,000 to 15,000 are on half-day sessions. Most cities whose population does not equal Los Angeles' school population have a large number of classes meeting in churches or in so-called double sessions.

### Enthralling Story

Nowhere is there such an enthralling public school story. The Los Angeles system operates adult classes, and seven junior colleges and is buying land for two more. The junior college plan is, without question, the only answer for the growing urban communities. Any city with a population of more than 300,000, and a projected growth picture, should be giving serious consideration to establishing junior colleges.

Los Angeles must tax property to obtain the necessary bond issues. So far the people have come through magnificently, voting new issues about every two years. The last two have been $150 million and $138 million.

Here, too, we can make out a case for federal aid to education. Los Angeles spends more than $500 per year on the education of each student. (In a considerable number of states, mostly in the South, the amount spent per pupil is a little more than $200.) Teachers are well paid in Los Angeles. There is an automatic increase, based on points for extra teacher preparation, which is paid — not promised. The beginning salary matches the top salaries in some states.

A child in a state which cannot —or will not — pay to educate its children suffers a discrimination not well understood.

RALPH
P.
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## Nonsense by The Birchites

Sun. 11-24-61

Southern right-wing conservatives, apparently finding Senator Goldwater's policies not enough to satisfy their need for emotional revival of fears, prejudices and doubts about their country, are here and there inviting the founder of the Birch Society to confirm, if not increase, their lack of faith in their country and their fellow Americans.



"The Founder," who has cast doubts on the full loyalty of former Presidents Roosevelt, Eisenhower and Truman, and on other leading Americans who do not share his views, repeats the unfounded nonsense that the Communists have infiltrated the Protestant ministry.

It is important that such nonsense be met with facts. The extreme, fanatical right in this country has, of course, denounced even Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. Whether the Birchites share this view is not clear. But most of the extreme right looks to the FBI as an authority. Hence, as a reply to the unsustained, undocumented smear of the Protestant ministry of this country, we can turn to an official statement by the FBI.

### Loyal Clergy

In a speech representing the views and the findings of that organization, William C. Sullivan, assistant director of the FBI, said recently in a public speech: "There can be no doubt about the loyalty of the overwhelming majority of the clergy to the nation . . . matched against the 300,000 ordained clergymen in the United States, the proportion who wittingly or unwittingly aided the Communist movement is exceedingly small."

In an extension of nonsense, "The Founder" charged that communism "has always been imposed from the top down by the very rich, the highly educated, and the politically powerful, on the suffering masses."

Whether this makes the very rich in "The Founder's" audiences uncomfortable or suspect is not revealed. But even they must have the intelligence to know that this is the bunk.

Lenin and Trotsky were of the "very rich"?

Communism was not imposed on the Russian people by the very rich. It took over by creating parliamentary chaos and then using armed force.

Communism nowhere has been imposed by the rich and powerful. It has been imposed by force. The Yalta agreements, for example, were sound enough had the Soviets honored them. These agreements betrayed no one. In each of these the pattern was the same. The local Communists, neither very rich nor very powerful, were trained in underground techniques learned during the war, which enabled them to win control of the existing political parties.

### Involuntariness

Not a single country has voluntarily accepted communism — a fact carefully ignored by those who want Americans to doubt themselves, their government, and each other. This is something

that communism itself cannot do. That there are Americans who will do this sort of dirty work for the Communist enemy is one of the more curious, deplorable developments of our time.

Nowhere, at any time, has communism been imposed by the rich and the comfortable. It has been established by armed force. To this day there are barbed wire entanglements and "death zones" about the borders of East Germany and Czechoslovakia where they join with free countries to prevent the flight of the millions who detest communism.

Smearing the ministers is a favorite game. To the Birchites, who inevitably attract about themselves all the rag-tail rabble of anti-Semite and anti-Negro cults, any minister who supports racial justice is a Communist. Merely to assert belief that a Negro child has a right to participate in public education is condemned by this dreadful mob as "Communist."

Happily, the extreme right continues to be so preposterous as to be easily vulnerable to truth.

# RALPH McGILL

P. 2. Dec. 3
Sun. 12-3-61

## *Empty Beer Cans*

PROF. JOHN KOUWENHOVEN, who teaches English at Barnard, suggests in a book that the beer cans which each night are discarded by the thousands along the through highways and streets of suburbia are clear evidence of abundance, waste and sloppiness produced by our economy.

Any suburban resident who is used to finding the beer cans strewn in front of his lawn will agree. Even the wry humor supplied by the fact that the cans appear also before the home of the minister in the neighborhood does not alleviate the annoyance.

On viewing the daily array of cans, one thinks bitterly on the fact that miners in Bolivia have toiled for a pittance in dank and dismal mines to dig the ore; that ships laboriously have been loaded with it and sailed to distant ports, that men have sweated and labored at furnaces, in rolling mills and factories, in order that some oaf may have a beer while he is driving and throw the can on the street.

We do have an affluent economy and there is, without question, a dismaying lot of waste in it. But it also has a comforting vitality. There are multiplying signs that this power will be called upon to accomplish mighty things in production jobs and export sales.

It will be this vitality, and the use of it, which will win the war in which we now are engaged. It is a war which may never (God willing) reach the nuclear stage. It was American production — and the export of it — which won the two world wars. We are now called upon to win a third one with the productive genius of that economy.

We will need to rid ourselves of certain shibboleths, slogans and myths. We must train trade experts in languages and techniques. We will, one suspects, learn something of barter. Our enterprise system will have more Federal controls imposed upon it only if it fails to meet the demands of the present war. It cannot afford to listen to those leaders who sulk or hold back.

Even if the missiles with nuclear warheads remain unlaunched, there will still be casualties in this war we call "cold." There will be wounded businesses and dead ones. There will be vast man-power problems as automation and trade shifts take their toll. There is always a lag between the jobs eliminated and those created by the processes of automation. Meanwhile, the population grows, nullifying many of the measures enacted to remedy the dislocations of employment.

There are already powerful voices raised in Washington saying that we cannot afford to engage in freer world trade because it will hurt many of our weaker enterprises. The thoughtful person knows that if we fail to make American goods plentiful and competitive in the markets of the world, we will destroy our largest enterprises. It is a harsh choice. But, it must be made. These will be the casualties.

IF WE slow the pace of the nation's vast productive machine to that of the inefficient and weak, then the productive output of the Soviet Union, of Red China, Japan and Europe will, in the years ahead, reduce this nation to relative tency.

Russia is in trouble economically and politically. Her over-all economy has been sacrificed to the demands of space missiles and heavy industry. There are not enough consumer goods. The satellites, as we have seen in latest unconcealed dissents from Italy's Communist party, the largest in Europe, are more and more restless.

Mr. Khrushchev is not a comfortable man. The problems of the Kremlin are numerous. The years ahead will produce many, many changes. China concerns Mr. K as a military threat. But China's nearly one billion people suggest, in the unfolding future, a tremendous economic competition — for him and the West.

The United States is, relatively, an old industrial society.

Each new nation, of course, wants to become one tomorrow.

Russia has been on the way for a little more than forty years. She has done marvels in that time. But she is not yet able to provide a more demanding people with all they want in consumer goods.

The Common Market is almost upon us.

And, as we pick up beer cans in the street, we might think about the economic and social needs of twenty or forty years from now. Our children will contend with them. Today's adults have a painful responsibility.

# RALPH MC GILL



## Coming Up Like Thunder

SEN. ALBEN BARKLEY, who was the master after-dinner speaker, once was asked by Adlai Stevenson, himself no amateur, for the secret of the Barkley success.

"It isn't so much what you say," said the Kentuckian, "as it is to whom you say it. The best audience is one that is intelligent, well-educated—and just a little drunk."

The American people constitute a vast audience. The trouble with this audience is that it is diffused and is not too well-informed. Also, large segments of it cling to the idea that, after all, things are pretty much as they always have been, and will be well if we sit tight and do nothing.

Autumn is coming up. And it is approaching somewhat in the manner of Rudyard Kipling's description of dawn in Mandalay. It is coming up like thunder. All this will provide a supreme test for the United Nations and this country's participation. The agenda is almost certain to include these items:

1. A debate on whether to bring the issue of Red China's admission to the floor. Here again we must try to understand this issue will not be whether to admit Mao's government, but whether to permit discussion of it to come to the floor.

2. A thorough debate on disarmament.

3. The Berlin problem.

4. Angola, where Portugal's repressions are bloody and ruthless.

5. Possible sanctions against South Africa.

6. The Trust territory now administered by South Africa and whether or not to abolish this control.

OTHERS of like importance are quite likely to be added. But these are enough to make clear the need for careful and exhaustive reporting by American newspapers, wire services, news magazines, television and radio. We are already standing in the need of prayer. But, even more, we must be able to understand the issues confronting us. Being tough is necessary. But this alone is not enough. Just being tough, without the resiliency of intelligence could bring an end to the world as we know it.

We can be thankful there is such a thing as the United Nations. Without it we long ago would have had war. Its victories and achievements may be minor in comparison with the dream of attaining world peace, but if we do not see that in just the Congo alone the UN has justified itself, then indeed are we blind and unreasonable.

Sen. William Fulbright recently sought to bring American thinking into focus by asking of Sen. Barry Goldwater what was meant by the Senator's oft-repeated demand that we move to attain "total victory." This is a fine, resounding phrase, and it never fails to please civic club and GOP audiences.

But, asked Sen. Fulbright, what does it mean? Is Sen. Goldwater saying, he asked, that we win total victory by an all-out nuclear war which would kill a great many millions of our people, as well as those of other nations? If this is what Mr. Goldwater means, then when do we begin such a war?

If this is not the means to be used to attain total victory, then it must be done by a bold, diplomatic stroke which is so convincing that every one on the other side immediately will see the unanswerable logic of it and accept it.

SEN. FULBRIGHT'S quiet questions were in a sense cruel in that they punctured the poppycock of all such loose and pontifical phrases as "total victory." Sen. Goldwater's reply seemed quite lame. He did not, he said, want a nuclear war. He did not know any single diplomatic stroke which could produce total victory. But, he said, we should strive for a climate which would produce total victory. The exact meaning of this is nonexistent.

The truth is there is no panacea. It is human nature to want a cure-all pill for any illness. But, there isn't one. And until there is, the President of the United States patiently must try to reach an audience diverse and divided.

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# The South Is Learning

*By Ralph McGill*

NEWS STORY: A total of 24 school districts in the South, including Atlanta, Dallas and Galveston, for the first time desegregated their schools this fall, bringing the total number of districts to 807. In addition six colleges are desegregating.

Slowly, but at an accelerated pace, the South is learning that the problem of education involves children, young men and women.

All along it has been just this—the business of providing children with the educational tools to enable them to have a fair chance in competitive life.

How, then, did the politicians, the fat, the lean, the cigar-smoking and tobacco-chewing types, the neat, the pious who had a private line to God, the ambitious who did not care about children but were willing to sacrifice them for political advancement—how did all these make it their business?

If from the beginning the problem had been left to the school people, there would have been little trouble. The U. S. Supreme Court decision was a wise and temperate one. It recognized there would be difficulties. It said that some states would need more time than others. All it asked was honest beginnings. Just that—honest intent and a beginning—nothing more.

The school people could have done that if left alone.

But in some state capitals there were men with ambitions to match those of Macbeth, as revealed in Shakespeare's play of that name. He was led, by the evil witches who furthered his ambitions, to murder and kill. But at last, even Birnam Wood moved against him and he was finished.

The state house politicians by giving ear to the haters, the fanatics, and those who were themselves ambitious to attain the governor's office, the U. S. Senate or the Congress, brought shrieking, brutal mobs to their cities. They produced closed schools, or chaotic, impotent classrooms. They paralyzed business in their communities. Some even made troops necessary.

Not only that, but they attracted the rats who live in such ruins . . . the bombers, the neo-Nazis, aping Hitler, the dynamiters, the terrorists, the anti-Semitic vermin.

They loosed all this . . . and why?

Only children were involved—and their opportunity to learn to teach, to preach, to be engineers, doctors, lawyers, business employes, good fathers and mothers, and informed citizens.

Why, then, did the politicians poison the issue and muddy the stream of education?

The people are beginning to figure it out. Slowly but surely, the picture comes into focus. They are coming to see that it was not true, as the political leaders said, and as the fanatics insisted, that schools would be over-run. They are coming to see, slowly, that from the beginning the court had provided for beginnings.

There was yet another step in this process of learning.

The people have begun to comprehend that their schools will not be over-run, and that also the processes of American life, of churches, of opportunity, and promise have produced Negroes who were teachers, competent professionals, and good, salt-of-the-earth middle class people. And all the while the hot-eyed haters handed out, and mailed out, literature about dirty and diseased Negroes, about criminals and illiterates. The Southern people came to realize it would not be these who would be in the schools.

Those Negro children who go to the desegregated schools are and will be qualified, neat, well-mannered, eager youngsters from homes in which Christianity and loyalty to America have been taught. They will have their physical examination certificates, just as white children always have been called upon to produce.

So, the South learns. In Tennessee 400 new Negro students go to classes in 11 districts. North Carolina doubles its number of integrated pupils. Texas is stepping up its pace. So is Florida. Six colleges and universities in the South are newly admitting Negro students.

The South is learning that its politicians and extremists have deliberately deceived them . . . the promise of America can, and must, include all its people. It is exciting to see the strength of truth.

RALPH

# MC GILL

## Torn From The Past ---

Notes on the Southern Scene: This finally gets around to some post-desegregation developments after Atlanta's and Dallas' successful transition.



It has been the fate of the South to have been continually tied to the rack of change. The Indians were not removed from the Deep South cotton states until the 1820's. By the time the restless land-seekers from Tennessee, Virginia, South Carolina and New England had moved in, taken up land and sowed it in cotton, the tensions of the impending Civil War produced the travail of change. There followed the war, the reconstruction, the "New South" binge when schools, health and medical care, and all things cultural were sacrificed in a pooling of all possible capital to attract industry.

Since about 1920, when the boll weevil ended the old crop system, and with it the tenant and sharecropper evils, the South has been torn away from its past. It is wrong to speak of a New South. There isn't one. There is an emerging South. The future is not yet in focus. It will not be, so long as the Southern senators and congressmen, the governors and businessmen refuse to understand what has happened to them—and what is to transpire.

### The Tragedy

The tragedy of this is that good

people, as fine as anywhere in the nation, are involved. They will follow leadership if it is available. They are regionally loyal. Therefore, they have listened for a long time to falsehoods and distortions. Now, they are beginning to see and to understand they have been deceived for the political benefit of others.

The magnificent thing about Atlanta's successful desegregation day was that it was a voluntary thing. There was, to be sure, a court order. But it had been accepted. There had followed more than a year of preparation. There was a will to obey the law. There was a genuine relief in having done with shabby, untrue deceptions and cheap rationalizations.

To those who had worked with it, the greatest thrill was the faith of the parents and the children. The peddlers of untruth had sought to produce a boycott with a campaign of vulgar deceptions and lies. They tried to frighten the parents.

There was no mob, no disorder, no violence. This was because it was done by a confident people, weary of prejudice, proud of their city, and of their civilization.

The letters began to come in the days that followed. Most of them were wonderful. Some were vicious in the way that only the coarse and ignorant can reveal their viciousness.

### *Pathetic Letters*

A few were pathetic. One example will illustrate. An elderly lady in a small rural town wrote, out of complete sincerity:

"Why must the Negro be given special privileges?"

This one sentence is more revealing than a whole chapter on sociology. To this lady the fact that the Negro seeks to vote and to be free of discriminations merely because of the color of his skin, is a demand for "special privileges."

Many Southerners, especially those in rural areas, literally do not understand that the Negro is a citizen of the United States. The Negro is as much a citizen as anyone else—no more and no less. He is, therefore, entitled to be treated, in all public aspects of life, just as are all other citizens. He has no special privileges—merely those available to all U.S. citizens.

For a long time it has been possible to treat him as if he were not a citizen. A better, stronger South will grow out of the new situation.

The private sector of life remains as before. Guests at homes will be only those invited there. School children will associate only with those members of their class with whom they wish to be associated. And, as for mixing the races, surely the extremists do not mean to insult the Southern people by saying they must have a law to keep them pure. It is not true there will be any forced association. There is no real reason to be disturbed by change.

# RALPH MC GILL



## Two Anti-UN Groups

FROM a UN Notebook: Two groups wish to destroy the United Nations—the Communists and the extreme Right wing in America, the Birch-type mentality, which includes the anti-Semitic, anti-Negro forces nationally and Citizens Council extremists in the South.

Both want to have the UN moved from this country. Each would like to see the United States quit the UN. The Soviets see, as the American frenzied fringe of the right does not, that an American pull-out would give the Russians a mechanism of world politics and propaganda which would enormously enhance their position as a world power.

There is, of course, disappointment because the neutral bloc, which can hold the balance of power, has been so timorous in opposing the Soviet nuclear tests. The explanation is known. The neutrals are more afraid of Russia than they are pro-Communist.

One African delegate explained it thus: "We are new nations. We do not have economic or political stability. We have no military strength. We do not wish to attract the attention of the Soviets. We know that the United States will not do us harm. We are aware that if we antagonize the Russians they will harass us by financing Communists among us to agitate and demonstrate.

"Also, most of us will need trade and assistance. If we cannot have it from the United States, we must turn to the Russians. But there may be less of this. Already, in Guinea, Egypt and elsewhere, there is a growing disenchantment with Soviet aid. One hears Africans beginning to say, 'After all, the Russians are Europeans.' There is more and more evidence of Chinese influence in Africa. The Chinese are much easier to deal with.

"The new nations," he continued, "primarily wish to avoid any involvement in big power struggles. They fear the Soviets, as I have said. So, they are timorous. But let us not abandon hope."

The Soviet bomb tests, while they have had a blackmail effect, none the less have disappointed and embarrassed the more Russian-oriented leaders from the African and Asian nations.

"You must understand," said the African delegate previously quoted, "that there are a number of ambitious men here whose maturity does not match their dreams of power. Ghana's Nkrumah is not alone in thinking of himself as the man who is selected by destiny to put together, and lead, a vast Pan-African movement. They can the more quickly attract attention by attacking imperialism, colonialism and American policy. So they do it. We shall have to live through such aberrations."

THE UN, like so many things around us, is in a period of rapid evolution. Given time, and an absence of war, it may yet develop into a world force able to [illegible] tively with aggression. There is no need. There is no [illegible] whatever but that agencies, working in health, education and technical assistance, have won the respect and confidence of millions. For these the image of the UN is genuine, tangible assistance—and not at all the grim power struggle between Communism and the West.

The ideological rift between the Chinese and the Russians is a favorite UN conversational piece—and it is everywhere.

Some of the central Europeans at the UN, including the Poles, Czechs and Yugoslavs, have commented dryly on the fact that a nuclear war between Russia and the West would kill off millions in each area, the United States, Europe and the U. S. S. R. They mention the long border between the two Communist giants and suggest that it would be millions of Chinese who would move in to replace the millions of dead Russians. This possibility, they believe, has not escaped Mr. K.

If the Chinese persist in their course of seeking to become the world leaders of "pure" Marxist-Leninism, replacing the Kremlin, then the world power struggle will undergo some convulsive reactions.

Despite the joining of hands by the Communists and the frenzied United States Right to destroy the UN, it remains worthy of patient support.

RALPH

# The McGILL

## The Iron Is Hot

A foreign diplomat, in attendance at a university seminar, commented on this nation's problem as highlighted by events in the Congo and pressures from other areas of the world, including the Latin Americas.



"It is not inconceivable," he said, "that the problem of race may in time become one directly connected with national survival. If that time should come the government then could do nothing else save move strongly against those who abuse it and thereby endanger national security. This is precisely why the South's political leadership should be educating its people to the reality of their situation.

"Now," he said, "is the time for the Kennedy administration to strike. The death of Lumumba provided an opportunity. He was a Soviet tool. He could have been nothing else had he lived. There is none to replace him. Without him there is an opportunity to prevent an outright Soviet base in central Africa. Other African nations see this. Even Ghana and Guinea now must understand what would have happened to them had Lumumba been returned to power.

### *Controversies*

"The United States may not have a perfect ambassador for Africa in Mennen Williams. But he already has stirred up controversies," he continued, "which distract attention from those who have been trying to picture the United States as an imperialist nation with wicked designs on the Africans. He blundered a bit in his statement that he believed in Africa for the Africans because he did not originally specify that he included those white settlers who will, in time, occupy a minority position. This has caused the more conservative British to wince and cry aloud. But it also pleased labor. He also offended the South Africans.

"All this presently is to the good because Mr. Williams is not operating in the old style and he almost certainly will disconcert the Russians. By the time diplomat Williams has shown his skill at folk dancing, at getting to know the local politicians, and in otherwise upsetting the old images of visiting dignitaries he will have the Africans talking. He may not know much about Africa. But he is not a stupid man. He is skilled in the art of getting along with people and in showing some concern for them. They will be talking about him for months to come."

The visiting diplomat had heads nodding affirmatively.

A part of the vitality and excitement of the Kennedy administration is that it has ideas and is trying to get things done. It will make some mistakes.

### *Equal Rights*

There also is evidence that the President, the Vice President and the administration staffs are aware that this nation must live what it proclaims. We have insisted that in this country there are equal rights and opportunities for everyone and that this is what separates us from the Russians. We have not lived up to that. Our failures, for more than three quarters of a century, to allow the Negro equal opportunity in education, in the acquirement of skills and employment, and in the use of the ballot, have seriously compounded our problem. If we had now a large reserve of Negro teachers, educators, technicians, doctors, agricultural instructors, and health experts, our country would have a powerful weapon in the hotly waged war for the minds of men.

The President knows this. He will use what he has. We may expect qualified and available Negro college presidents, perhaps two or three, to be named as ambassadors. The President cannot do otherwise than determine the executive's powers in the field of employment on federal contracts and in government. He hopes honestly and substantially to reduce long-existing discrimination by executive order. He plans no new civil rights legislation for the reason that he hopes the Congress and the states will act.

The states which practice inequities in this field should not fail to understand that if they continue willfully so to do, then federal action will become necessary. Neither this, nor any other effort to sustain the American Constitution, violates states rights, though the need for it highlights the irresponsibility of some.

SAYS CONGRESS SHOULD

# Legislate against school jimcro

NEW HAVEN, Conn. — Speaking at Yale University here last week, Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, called for legislation by Congress to end racial discrimination in public schools immediately.

Mr. McGill said that Americans must rid themselves of the "moral pain and anguish brought about by racial discrimination.

"We Americans have allowed ourselves to erect and maintain a huge gulf between our white and black citizens."

Because of this, he said, colored citizens have been deprived of their "rightful part in the great processes of American political, social and educational life."

Mr. McGill said any delays in guaranteeing first - class citizenship for all were not only irrelevant but unnecessary and even dangerous. He praised colored Americans for bearing up under the multifold deprivations of segregation.

The colored man wants, he said, "to be more, not less of an American."

He added, "He wants to forget his past losses and share in the molding of America's future."

* * *

**HE CALLED** the growth of colored leadership in the South "truly remarkable" and said that the militant colored southerner today is not a "new Negro," he is the same old one who is finally beginning to be recognized as a man being.

"I don't know exactly what type of legislation should be enacted to free the colored man from today's many restrictions, but it should start in the public schools," he said.

He continued that all school children who are denied a first-class education are the responsibility of everyone in the country, not just the residents of individual states.

Addressing a group of Yale debaters, he concluded: "And so, if you ask me, 'Is it our duty to permit education inequality to continue in this country?' my answer is 'Definitely no.'"

## Congolese students enroll at U. of Calif.

LOS ANGELES (ANP) — Ten African students from the Congo and Guinea entered University of California at Los Angeles classes ranging from engineering to agriculture last week. They are among the first students to be brought to the U.S. under new programs of government and university support.

The Congolese students will attend UCLA under the African Scholarship Program, of American Universities. They are Antone Kabwase, Noe Diawaku, Paul Malimba, Alexandre Yoka and Thomas N'Landu. The Guineans enrolled under federal government auspices, are Nongoh Mansare, Moussa Camara, Yaya Cisse, Mamade Conde and Abdoul Diakits.

RALPH

# The McGILL

## States' Rights; Needy People

Congressman James C. Davis, D-Ga., opposed federal aid to the suffering peoples in distressed areas because, he was quoted as saying, this assistance was part of a drive to usurp the rights of free enterprise and the individual states."



We are all indebted to Mr. Davis for posing the issue in terms which serve to spotlight the sometimes incredibly tortuous uses made of the political shibboleth of states' rights. To deny emergency assistance to distressed peoples because it might interfere with free enterprise "and the individual states" is, however, an argument which seems hardly in keeping with either the Christian ethic, or political reality.

It perhaps is necessary to remind ourselves that we are all citizens of the United States — not of any one state. We are residents of states. We are citizens of the United States. And each of us has identical rights.

Therefore, if citizens are hungry, dispossessed of housing, utterly without money, unable to find work, and the economic system of the state in which they reside is unable to offer jobs, shall the federal government then callously ignore the suffering of these citizens because to relieve them would be violating the rights of states and of free enterprise?

Certainly free enterprise has not and would not so protest. And assuredly, no state government has so argued. Free enterprise is not in any manner helped by a growing number of unemployed, distressed people. It certainly does not wish to see them cruelly ignored by some tortured application of states rights.

Any suggestion to that effect, to sustain the almost compulsive obsession of Southern political conservatives with the issue of states rights, will hardly be welcomed by the American enterprise system.

## *Federal Assistance*

The uses of states' rights are many, and not always are they admirable. But so far as memory runs, no proponent of them has ever employed the rights of individual states as a reason to deny federal assistance to distressed peoples. However sincerely or piously made, such a statement is not edible pie for the hungry.

The federal government cannot afford to be unconcerned with the welfare of its citizens. This was made clear by those founding fathers who drew up the Constitution. It was needed, they said, to promote the general welfare. And so it was. And is.

If qualified citizens in any state are denied the right to vote, that state may not claim a valid right to deny the ballot. If this is attempted, as has been done, then the federal government cannot fail to intervene and protect those rights.

If a state exercises its power to deny the right of a fair trial, of peaceful assembly, of worship, of free speech or press, then the federal government must assert its power to protect the rights of its citizens so denied.

## *State Schools*

This, for example, is at the heart of the school controversy. The federal government has not interfered with state control or direction of state schools. The states may teach what they wish, pay teachers little or much, select the textbooks, provide poor or good quality education, and so on. The federal government will have nothing to say. But when citizens are discriminated against in the right to attend school, if qualified, then the federal government must act. It cannot do otherwise.

Certainly it is not a state's right to permit some of its residents to enjoy all constitutional guarantees and deny them to others. We may not, because of custom, prejudice, or personal beliefs, expect the government to permit any state to do as it pleases about the rights of citizens. If this were possible, none of us could feel safe.

Finally, of course, it is preposterous to say there is any state right which so much as suggests the federal government should not vote money to assist its seriously distressed citizens. It is necessary to remember our government is one "of, by and for the people."

RALPH
The Atlanta
MC GILL
Constitution
**The World Is Compressed**
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 3-25-61

"... but the world is small."

President Kennedy does not have the oratorical touch of the glib, slick punch line. He has something better, the ability to make a line stick in the mind rather than flow in and out with only passing recognition of its cleverness.



So it was when he talked of Laos.

"Laos is far away," he said, "but the world is small."

Hearing him, or reading that sentence, one better understood the lonely, harassed young man who was trying to rally his country. Laos is far away. It impinges not at all on the welfare of the citizens of this country—until the Communists begin to take it. This danger compresses the world. It does become small.

The dilemma assists us to understand, too, that in that area geography fights on the Communist side. There are almost no communications. There is less transport.

How much official information we have is not known. It is likely inadequate, confused and, in part, unreliable. The Soviets have been credited with being the chief backers of the rebels who have come in to carry the fight, and the advance, slowly toward the Laotian capital.

## *Troops*

These Communist-trained troops come from North Viet Nam. It was troops of that region which defeated the French and brought us close to war at the time of the siege of Dien Bien Phu. France contended there for almost eight years and never subdued the jungle guerrillas. It is units from there which are keeping up pressure against the government troops.

The Laotians are not an aggressive people. The king's army is untrained and unskilled in the use of the arms supplied it. It does not possess what we call the will to fight. Without the presence of the tough, disciplined Communists among the rebel troops, they would not be formidable. But they now are. The supply of trained, tough cadres from North Viet Nam have been increased. This was the danger. Laos was slowly being consumed.

What we don't know is where Red China fits into all this. The Soviets have been providing the arms and, presumably, the military advisers. But the nagging suspicion persists that Communist China, too, has an interest in the aggression.

## *Chinese Expansion*

Those whose wish fathers the thought think perhaps the Russians are there in an effort to bar Chinese expansion into the area. They argue that China must spread out to feed her people. She presently is short of food, not wholly because of drought, plagues of insects, and floods. She has an estimated two acres per person for producing food. This is not enough. Her grab of Tibet was in the historic tradition of Chinese expansionist policy.

The rich lands of Thailand, South Viet Nam, Laos, Combodia and other Southeastern territories of Asia provide an almost irresistible lure for Red China to move. This will be a permanent danger.

One of the fears, held by some Western diplomats, is that if the United States and the SEATO allies move in, Red China would involve herself as she did in North Korea. President Kennedy's emphasis properly was on a diplomatic settlement.

The Soviets cannot help but be uneasy. But they may well feel that it would be better to be a partner to Chinese influence in this area, if, thereby, Peiping's urge for more territory could be satisfied.

There already is growing trouble in South Korea. This also is true in South Vietnam. The Chinese and Russians know this. They may halt in Laos and step up pressure in those areas.

It would be relatively a simple matter, if Laos were to fail, to put down the shaky republic of Viet Nam. They later could go to work on Thailand and her neighbors. The SEATO allies are well aware of this. But they, like our European allies, are not well united.

Somehow, somewhere, Red China is in this picture.

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Journal
**3,000,000,000 People on Earth**
Constitution

A brief news story notified us the world population is now 3,000,000,000.



Roughly one-third of these three billions is under communism, another third is in the free world, and the final billion lives in what we call the new nations, the under-developed, the yet-uncommitted.

The future of our soon-to-be 200 million citizens will be shaped if, indeed, it does not depend, upon which way the uncommitted one billion goes.

Let all those who blindly attack and oppose foreign aid consider the facts. Technology, tools, teachers, will help. But more is required. Many of these people are making what might be called a leap from the stone age into that of nuclear energy. This science is not yet well understood by the more advanced scientific minds and nations.

It may be we have come too fast for sound thinking.

We, too, are making a great leap.

## *Short Cuts*

We are plagued by the crisis of events and history. There are those who want us to take short cuts because of the presence of great and awesome dangers.

We are determined to win the [illegible] with the Communists for the minds of men. We are eagerness to do this we will be unwise to forget why we want to win.

We earnestly and prayerfully wish to win because we profoundly believe our system of government and our establishment of the state as the servant, not the master of the people, is the best way of life. We believe it offers the most contentment, opportunity, dignity, and freedom of person and mind. It is, we are convinced, a system superior to that of communism which rules man's mind, limits his freedom, and makes him servant of the state.

It then follows, as night the day, we must keep our country what it is.

We cannot afford to set up a system of thought control, of informers, spies and character assassins. There are those who would destroy some of our freedoms because, they say, it is necessary to do so to combat communism. Is America so lost and afraid of freedom?

It is a complex problem that is posed and symbolized by Laos, the Congo, Algeria and Berlin. But our essential task is simple. We cannot permit any group, Communists, Klans, court-defying state councils, politicians, Birch Societies, or any similar organizations and individuals to persuade or frighten us into abandoning our Constitutional rights and guarantees of personal liberty. If we do that, then we lose what makes our system superior to communism or fascism.

## *Totalitarianism*

Shall Americans permit Americans to tutor them in totalitarianism?

The ideology and myths of communism cannot be shot down with guns or bombs. Ideas do not die in such a contest. What we have to offer in this country is freedom and opportunity. We cannot win uncommitted peoples by imitating the Communists or Fascists. What sort of leadership can a free people offer if they become afraid of freedom and limit it?

We are in a period of great testing. History is moving faster than ever before. It is not trite so to say. We have, in less than two decades, produced atomic power and broken through the confinement of earth's powerful pull of gravity.

What is the test and what the national goal? None can improve on the words spoken by Lincoln at Gettysburg. We can, however, change one word of it.

"Now we are engaged in a great Cold War, testing whether that nation, or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. . . ."

There is less margin for error today than in the years of the cannon and the rifle.

Free men can't lead if they themselves fear freedom.

31a 1961 WHITE(RALPH McGILL)

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# McGILL
## Civil War Centennial Memorials?

In this uncertain, though best of all possible worlds, it begins to be apparent that the major tourist - bait attractions conceived to celebrate the centennial of the Civil War should be called off or understood for what they are. There is sound reason to commemorate the conflict which brought an end to chattel-slavery and made us a union in fact beyond the power of legalistic, hair-splitting sophistry to destroy. Articles, books, discussion groups, and actions of commemoration which have purpose and dignity are excellent.



But what we have now are increasing numbers of persons wandering about the South wearing sleazy imitations of Confederate uniforms, growing beards, stirring up old hatreds, making ancient wounds bleed again, reviving Ku Klux Klans, working themselves into immature fits of emotionalism, recreating old battles, and otherwise doing a great disservice to the memory of those who fought and died in the war of 1861-65.

South Carolina invited the National Civil War Commission to Charleston but, on learning a respected Negro woman, a citizen of New Jersey, was on that state's delegation, promptly barred her from participation. This has such an unbelievable obtuseness about it that one wonders why the South Carolinians had imagined no Negro delegate might turn up in response to their invitation.

### Negro Regiments

After all, the Civil War was not an all-white affair. There were Negro regiments on both sides. And while it is customary to say the war was not fought over slavery, this is only technically true. The conflict developed out of the attempts to extend slavery into the territories. Without slavery there would have been no war. The South acknowledges a debt of gratitude to the thousands of slaves who, during the four years of war, behaved with such understanding and good will that they left legends yet handed down in some families. That Charleston should insist on having a segregated version of the war 100 years after it began is one of the more unbelievable stories of our time.

We do not need to refurbish old myths.

There is to be a so-called replay of the Battle of Bull Run at a cost of some $200,000. This will be, at best, a travesty in comparison. Will they, one wonders, show the carriages filled with congressmen and some of the more fancy ladies of pleasure who drove out from Washington in 1861 with hampers of picnic food and iced champagne to watch men die?

### 1961 Version

Some of the more than 4,000 who died there that day, looking down from the ramparts of that Valhalla to which all good soldiers go, may be able to smile at the 1961 version of that hog-killing-like contest. But they will hardly laugh out loud. Most of those who fought there on that spring day were untrained youngsters in new, ill-fitting uniforms and with strange little-understood muskets in their hands. (It was the first battle ever won by a railroad.) But what dignity or reward will there be in a school-boy charade with popguns inadequately re-enacting so terrible a day? Once was enough.

A commemorative study of the Civil War is recommended. It is well to relearn that it need not have been fought. Unhappily, it got into the hands of the fanatics on both sides. One of the more disturbing things about reading history is to discover how often fanatics have shouted down all those who sought to introduce logic, truth, or reason.

But let all who read note well one basic fact.

Getting on board with extremists is something like boarding an aircraft. One cannot get off until it lands. And only the pilot can bring it down. The pages of history are filled with the tragedy of those who entrusted themselves to traveling with the fanatics of their time and who crashed with them.

By all means, let us memorialize the war and those who served it honestly and well. But let us have done with all else.

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## To Feel Free, And Be Free

A cloud of encouragement hardly larger than a man's hand, but nonetheless large in appearance because it reveals the first sign of a silver lining of common sense, is reported in the skies of the Magnolia State.



At least one daily and a half dozen weeklies are publicly expressing disenchantment with the secret police-like tactics of the Citizens Councils. This is tied in with a growing realization that Gov. Ross Barnett has not been able to lead the state into the promised land of prosperity and isolation from law and public opinion. There are more and more reports of wistful wishing for a return to the sort of government given by former Gov. James P. Coleman, who had sought to keep down inflammatory actions.

A Mississippian said that a recent conversation in a barbershop is typical. A loquacious customer, waiting to be shaved, joined in the general talk of politics and federal action.

"I never voted for J. P. (James P. Coleman)," he said, "but after a year of Ross I hope I get a chance to do just that."

"Now I know," writes another "why our official bird is the mocking bird. It is singing very loudly in Mississippi, but nowhere louder than at the capitol."

### Paid Informers

Students report that paid informers on the university and college campuses long have been active in reporting to the Citizens Councils any student or faculty member who did not "think right."

Americans do like to be free. More than that, they like to feel free. They resent being spied on. The informer is not a popular American hero, as he is in Russia or any of the totalitarian countries. It could seem, from reading clippings of editorials received from the Magnolia State, that an increasing number of Mississippians do not feel free.

The staunchly segregation-minded editor of the conservative State Times, of Jackson, has publicly appealed for an end to a climate of witch-hunting, "which is just as wicked in Mississippi as in Russia or Hitler's Germany," even if done "in the name of patriotism and high ideals."

It is, however, the desire of weekly newspaper editors to be, and to feel free, which is causing the most interest. Most quoted editor is L. H. Howell, of the Panolian, at Batesville, Miss. He said, in part:

"Some months ago, the State Department of Education was forced to ban the use of an education film—not because the film was offensive, but because its producers were not on a list of organizations approved by the Citizens Council.

### The Church

"Most people know that the Methodist Church and the United States Air Force have been listed as 'enemies' of the Citizens Council, along with other denominations and agencies. One questions whether the reading of the Bible soon is to be restricted in the same manner that Nazi Germany sought to rid the Reich of all subversive influences, literary and otherwise. . . .

"Hardly an individual in Mississippi has failed to come under the pressures which have been expressed in the past three years," he wrote.

Speakers who have swarmed the state citing the U.S. Supreme Court decision as a Communist plot are having less success as more and more Southern states proceed with court orders and encounter none of the forced social mixing predicted by extremists. More and more Mississippians are concerned with the future of education and progress.

Mississippi, of course, must work out her own course — as must every state. The choice is clear. It is law, and slow, often painful, progress. Or it is mobs, anarchy, and economic, educational and spritual stagnation. Mississippi must choose.

But every state can learn from the desire of Mississippians to be free and feel free. The path laid out by the orderly processes of law, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, is the only one which Americans may walk with confidence and assurance.

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## A Look at Foreign Policy

Writing in the Virginia Quarterly Review on Foreign Policy, William G. Carleton, political scientist at the University of Florida, said:



"The world historical trend is not toward Soviet communism and it is not toward American capitalism. . . . It is extremely unlikely that the societies of the world will lose their individual identities and become inclusively incorporated into one system. . . . a lot of sophomoric nonsense has been talked about how the nation cannot stand half slave and half free, that in the end either communism or the American way of life must prevail. This is a ghastly and dangerous conception of the world, and fortunately, it bears no resemblance to the realities.

"In this period of revolutionary evangelism and fanaticism and until such time as the doctrinaire revolutions of our day are moderated and modified, it is extremely important that we pursue clear-eyed policies designed to keep the new nations from being engulfed and the world's balance of power from being overborne. At the same time, we must not, in order to check fanaticism, succumb to a brand of fanaticism of our own. . . ."

This is a conclusion of great common sense.

### Rest of World

The rest of the world cannot become just like us. The forces of industrialism are in a sense "Americanizing," or "Westernizing," the world. There is the growing desire for the "things" and comforts of industrial production. This is one of the reasons the new, underdeveloped nations are intrigued with the Communist methods. It seems to them a short cut.

We sometimes forget that we began our industrial development with the water wheel, the blacksmith shop, and the small iron "furnace" and grew into the new technology. We — the British, Germans and the Americans—invented most of the productive machines. The population was small. Land was free. Raw materials were plentiful.

These conditions are not totally present anywhere today. The new governments can't attract much foreign capital. They do not have it in their own treasuries. The government must move to initiate industries and training because no other agency can do it.

Even so, some of the new nations resist communism. But they can, like India, for example, proceed only with a mixed economy, part free and part government

financed and controlled.

### *Neutralism*

The Kennedy administration understands this. We are committed to support genuine neutralism and not insist, as did the late Secretary Dulles, that to be truly neutral is to be against us.

Finally, we, as a people, cannot succumb to a brand of fanaticism of our own without losing America to communism or fascism—similar, if rival, totalitarian systems.

Communism is making world gains . . . but not in the United States. We cannot combat communism in Asia or Africa by nullifying our own courts, Constitution and its Bill of Rights.

Americans today better understand the threat of communism than ever before. We know it for what it is. The threat remains and it is real. But there is less Communist organization than ever before because of this awareness. The education of Americans to the dangers of communism has been effective.

In the 1930s, for example, the Communists sought to win Negroes and the unemployed, depression-damaged poor white persons. They failed. One of the Communist arguments in the depression years was the Jim Crow discriminations. Our Supreme Court, far from being Communist influenced, struck a hard blow at communism by declaring such discriminations unconstitutional.

We can't afford to believe that these persons who believe in equal rights for all American citizens, of whatever race or religion, are Communists.

America today is more aware, and better prepared, to combat the Communist conspiracy than ever before. What is required of us is faith in the American way, in ourselves, and in our institutions.

RALPH
The Atlanta
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Constitution

## Only a Man Harrowing Clods

Spring plowing time is here, but it will be helpful to understanding if we do not think of farming in terms of the man with the hoe or of the homeward plodding plowman.



It was only a few years ago that one could nod affirmatively over one of Thomas Hardy's poems, and say, "That is so." He wrote "In Time of the Breaking of Nations:"

"Only a man harrowing clods
In a slow silent walk,
With an old horse that stumbles and nods
Half asleep as they stalk.

"Only thin smoke without flame
From the heaps of couch grass;
Yet this will go onward the same
Though dynasties pass."

Dynasties have passed since the philosopher poet and reformer-novelist wrote of the eternal symbol of the man, the horse and the plow. But it does not go onward the same. The image is new.

The machine has come to stay. Horses and mules are so rare a sight on farms today as to excite surprised comment.

### *Cotton Country*

Last year in the heart of Mississippi's cotton country 75 per cent of the crop was mechanically picked compared with 65 per cent in 1959 and less than 10 per cent in 1950. Delta planters used to say, when the machines were new, "The best cotton picker will always be a pair of black hands." They may still think so—especially if the hands could be paid a pittance. But they buy machines.

Each American industrial worker, entering the plant where he or she is hired to operate a unit in the vast expanse of machinery involved in production, represents a capital investment of $15,900. In some industries, of course, the per capita expenditure on equipment is much higher. But the average is almost $16,000 per worker.

The pioneers, on the westward journeys in search of new land, took with them an ax, a hoe, a plow and an oxen or so. Their ghosts must be startled today to see the machines on the modern American farm.

The capital investment per farm worker in America today is well above that of the factory employe. It is a whopping $21,000 per man. (The figure is much higher on the huge commercial farms.) The figure of $21,000 includes the smaller farms where a tractor and its accessories are adequate for mechanization.

### *Machinery*

As the number of farms declines the demand for machinery increases. Last year cotton-picker sales led the field. Now that the number of farms in the United States is down to about four million from 5.6 million in the last decade, sales of farm machinery are expected to set new records in 1961. There are perhaps a million subsistence-type farms which in the years ahead will either be abandoned to some other land use or merged with larger acreages. As the total number is reduced, the average size increases. These will require more machines.

Manufacturers of agricultural machinery have new products for 1961. Ford has a new five-plow tractor with 7,000 pounds of drawbar pull. Motec Industries has a new hay baler with a pick-up capacity up to 10 tons an hour. J. I. Case is introducing a six-plow tractor using diesel or liquid propane fuel. Deere has new tractors and a self-propelled combine. Other companies also offer new equipment which cuts costs and reduces labor requirements. Combined with these advances are new fertilizers, defoliants, hybrids, and techniques. Our fewer farmers produce larger surpluses.

We tend to think of industry as offering the most revolutionary advances in mechanization. Not so. In 1936 one in every four Americans was a farm dweller. Today the farm population is less than 9 per cent of our population.

In 20 years, production, from roughly the same number of acres, is up 50 per cent. Man-hour output has tripled.

The image of the plowman and the sleepy horse is no longer valid.

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## A Portent In Senegal?

It generally was on the inside pages, but the story of LBJ and Ladybird in Senegal, West Africa, was a good one and perhaps not entirely without portent.



The Senegalese were celebrating their first year of independence and they made much of the fact that Lyndon Johnson and his attractive wife were there to represent the United States. Dinners, parades and small human incidents enlivened the visit. The huge, multi-colored umbrella which a chief was holding over Mrs. Johnson during the progress of a parade to protect her from the sun snapped shut about her head. Her laughter and good humor prevented embarrassment. The vice president was attracted by the bright face of a small boy. He handed him a ballpoint pen, saying, "Son, you write me a letter when you are a big man."

The crowds liked the big Texan. They swarmed about him, crying, "Long live the United States, champion of independence." That is a new, warming sound, in a time of anti-U.S. slogans.

At the formal dinners, at teas, and in meetings with the people in villages and cities, the Johnsons most creditably represented their country.

### *Senegal's President*

Senegal's President Senghor spoke well of France and the United States. He disclaimed any part in the "campaign of vituperation between East and West." He warned African nations against falling into the error of attacking their former colonial rulers merely because they once were dominant. He declared a policy of friendship would assist, as it has in Senegal, in a transition to peace and true independence.

Senegal is a small country. It is the best-known area in what was French West Africa, and perhaps the most westernized. The Senegalese have served in the French army for generations and their record is excellent. Senegal boasts a substantial educated class and has been sending representatives to the French Parliament since World War I. The population is about three million.

It is a small island of stability in a disturbed continent. It is free, at least for the time being, of hatreds and strife. It reminds us that not all of Africa is ravaged with dissension and disorder. There is another hopeful development.

The British, who are administrators of the United Nations Trust Territory of Tanganyika, set Dec. 28, of this year, for the establishment of full independence. The great tragedy is that the Belgians so completely failed in their attempts to guide the Congo through orderly processes to independence.

### *Complication*

The Congo problem greatly has complicated the working out of independence for Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. But British prestige presently is improved because of her stand in the Commonwealth against the racial policy of the South Africans. Her past record of preparing colonies for independence is magnificent and inspires confidence.

Tanganyika's premier, Julius Nyerere, has announced he will work toward an East African Federation to halt what he calls the "Balkanization" or fragmentation of Africa as the new nations emerge.

Nationalization and the emotional hunger for independence and "freedom" now bind the continent together. But he sees the day when rivalries will arise and the new nations may be fighting one another.

This leads this new premier to argue that neither his country nor other African states should be armed. They cannot, he says, defend themselves against great powers. If they have arms they can end up only in fighting their neighbors. Money, he says, is needed for immediate human needs—not armaments.

This is good sense. It would seem, for all its logic, perhaps too idealistic for our time. But that Senegal speaks out against anticolonial hatreds, and that Tanganyika's premier can be proposing such terms are hopeful notes in a time of discord.

31e 1961

# RALPH McGILL

## U.S. Capital At the U.N.

UNITED NATIONS: Some of the staff accompanying Andrei Gromyko here for the General



Assembly session, unlike their predecessors, have not yet learned who of the other delegations speak and understand Russian. When Mrs. Roosevelt made her first appearance here as a designated delegate, she was escorted by U. S. Ambassador Stevenson. One of the new staffers from Moscow, watching from the rear of the hall, was overheard to say to a friend, "They really are bringing out all of their capital, aren't they."

It was, in a way, a recognition of the fact that the United States is bringing out its best resources in the battle to win men's minds and to save, if possible, the character and strength of the U.N., and that the Soviets have so evaluated it. It was also a tribute to the personalities of Governor Stevenson and Mrs. Roosevelt. They are respected and they are influential because of their established integrity and achievements. They are, indeed, some of the best capital possessed by our capitalist system.

### No Control

Events in the Congo presently are under no control whatever. They are likely to remain chaotic for sometime. It is a truism that Communist affairs always do better under such conditions. The outlook admittedly is grave. No solution seems in sight.

The best hope seems to be to replace Rajeshwar Dyal as U.N. commander in the Congo. India is sending more troops but will accept another leader. It may be possible to set up an African Advisory Committee to assist in the U.N. policy in the Congo. Meanwhile, the Soviets not merely oppose, but boycott, all meetings held by the Secretary General. There are signs of Arab arms and supplies going to the pro-Russian Gizenga regime. But Mr. Nkrumah warns Western representatives not to equate African nationalism with Russia or communism, and he has advocated United Nations forces.

There are many contradictions in what is an almost hopelessly involved and tribally divided region. The Soviets have one tremendous advantage. They could, the moment an airport was opened to them and United Nations authority removed, begin to pour in hundreds, even thousands, of teachers, technicians and supplies of all sorts. They could, and would, begin building schools and factories. These are the basic tools of Soviet imperialism.

The Russians long ago learned that schools and jobs are the quickest way to establish a Communist climate.

### Limited Capacity

We do what we can, but our capacity is limited. A country which is short, even of poor teachers, can't very well send hundreds abroad to assist a new country with its schools. The proposed Peace Corps is a new idea in this area of diplomacy and foreign aid. It cannot begin, even on a small scale, before Autumn.

The recent appointment of Philip Coombs to be assistant secretary of state for educational and cultural affairs also in an innovation. He is one of the nation's most competent and experienced educators and has a sense of dedication to education. The Ford Foundation has just announced a grant of more than a half million dollars to the Congolese government for the new national school of law and administration at Leopoldville. This will pay the cost of the school's faculty for one year. About 200 Congolese already are enrolled in the school, which has had assistance from the United States and the United Nations.

One of the Congo's troubles was that it had almost no trained or educated personnel to administer the early government set up by the late Patrice Lumumba.

The outlook is not good, but the Kennedy administration, as the Soviet staff man said, is calling on all the capital we possess.

RALPH McGILL

## The Ex-Dragon Writes Again

Some weeks ago Mr. Bill Hendrix, a veteran of at least a quarter century as a major and



active leader and organizer in the South's revival of the Ku Klux Klan, publicly resigned as Grand Dragon in Florida. He said he did so because he could not "go along" with the membership which was, he said, being led by men who planned and condoned bombings of churches and schools, and other violence as well.

A comment here on this forthright and frankly stated decision brought a letter from Mr. Hendrix. It was published and a second has now been received from him at Oldsmar, Fla. He there bases, as I learn from his letterhead, "The National Secret Agency." I have never met Mr. Hendrix but in the old days, as we say, he was a frequent and severe critic. I confess to an interest in being what might be called a pen-pal with the ex-dragon, especially since one may so sincerely admire the forthrightness of his resignation and the motivations for it.

### The Letter

He writes:

"Since you published my letter I have really received letters from all over the nation. The U.S. Klans must be badly misinformed because the letters I receive from their so-called members are really stupid. These fellows are not really Klan members. They are a combination of what the Klan should not be. They paid ten dollars to act big and know nothing.

"I have been accused by some of them of selling out to the NAACP, the Jews, the Communists and selling out to you. Fact is, I don't know what I had to sell and if you or any of those groups owe me anything I wish they would pay off. My statement was merely the facts and the truth. Integration is now the law of the land and a person can stop it only by violating the law. I take note that since I first wrote the entire political conglomeration of Georgia has passed local option laws. These bills will be knocked out by the courts. The truth is a person can maintain segregation only by moving to a section where there are no Negroes . . . this is not against the law.

"So far as their grand dragons are concerned," Mr. Hendrix continues, "they have about 50 that I know of. We used to give out badges to grand dragons to keep them from organizing each other. I have a letter from their Imperial Wizard, written a couple of years back, in which he wanted to come in with us because he liked our system better. We told him to organize and if they measured up we'd work with them. . . . There are now some eight Klan groups in Atlanta and Georgia and they are keeping busy fighting one another. I personally rate the U.S. Klans at the bottom of the heap.

### Law and Order

"I still say I am for segregation. But I also am for law and order and until the courts or the Congress change the present law, then integration will be the law of the land. No state has the right to violate federal law."

Mr. Hendrix says it well, and plainly. There is no forced integration. The same laws apply equally to each of the 50 states. Orders to admit qualified pupils come from courts. They are a part of the due process of law. They are not punitive. They are never issued unless, as the ex-Grand Dragon of the Florida Klans says, a law is being violated. The phrase "forced integration" is a part of the deception of those sincere persons who do not like the school decision and who seek a way out. It is, by its very phrasing, an incitement to defiance of courts and processes of law.

Thoughtful persons, who may not like the school decision, but who put their country and its welfare first, will not fail to see how the worst elements of anti-Semiticism and other unwholesome attitudes, are drawn like magnets to those who encourage defiance of federal law. They sense a kinship which they believe they can join.

Mr. Hendrix knows this. One would assume it would be difficult to deceive him. After 25 years in the innermost circles of Klan work and thought, he ought to know.

RALPH McGILL

## Two Voices From Virginia

Within the modest span of 24 hours, two of Virginia's best-known names are in the news.



Sen. Harry F. Byrd opposed the Kennedy plan for aiding education because of a probability that Congress eventually may require desegregation in states which accept federal funds.

A few hours after the senator made his position known, Virginia's former Gov. Colgate W. Darden spoke at Union College, Schenectady, N.Y. His major theme was that the South needs a first-rate school system. "The skills required by a modern industrial state cannot take root in a population plagued with illiteracy . . . we need a first-rate school system . . . primarily because it makes for competency and a richer and fuller life for each individual."

It is easy to understand Gov. Darden. There is no flaw in his conclusion. Sen. Byrd is different. The Byrd organization has given Virginia honest state government. It does not tolerate the rascals so familiar in the expensive wastes of public money in other states, particularly in some of the Old Dominion's neighbors to the south.

### Personal Integrity

The Virginia senator grows good apples. He is a man of complete personal integrity. But while one may respect these qualities, it is difficult to admire the almost complete negative quality of his record as a senator. His Senate career has consisted largely of saying "no." It assuredly has lacked innovation, imagination or any apparent awareness of the changes produced by a constantly burgeoning population concentrated more and more in an urban society. It is a far cry from the pastoral peace of the apple orchards to the modern industrial state which Gov. Darden declares must have adequate skills to survive.

Sen. Byrd is against federal aid to education, on the equitable basis of pupil attendance and per capita income, because, he fears, some day in the unknowable future state schools may be required to accept the constitutional guarantees and the orders of courts. One wants to respect the thought process of the senator who will, if he can, deprive millions of American children of a first-rate school system and the skills necessary for competency and a fuller life which Gov. Darden seeks. But Sen. Byrd makes it difficult.

There is posed, by Sen. Byrd's opposition, a problem for all Southern congressional members. They acutely are aware their own state school systems are not adequate. Of the 13 states which would profit most under the Kennedy formula, nine are in the Southeast. Among the states which also would be greatly assisted is Virginia.

### Dreaded Day

Most Southern congressmen and senators dread the day when they will be required to vote against the children of their state in order to sustain old fears and prejudices. There will be no voice raised in denial of Gov. Darden's thesis. It long has been an accepted fact of life.

Many in the Congress would

welcome a court test which quickly would settle the issue. It certainly is not constitutional to use tax money, collected from all the people, on a discriminatory basis. Perhaps a White House directive can solve the dilemma of these men.

The spectacle of Sen. Byrd and those who stand with him in unreasoning fear and prejudice is really one of the saddest in our national politics. One does not grow angry about it. One is made sad. The need is so great. Only education can provide freedom's margin of victory in the great contest with communism.

Einstein once said, "Politics is more difficult than physics." The world, he said, is more likely to die of bad politics than bad physics. And certainly no Southern state, and few others, will be able to acquire what Gov. Darden so truly says we must have, without federal aid.

The symbol of Sen. Byrd's "no" to such aid is bad politics for his state and the nation, however good it may be for him.

RALPH
Dec 31
McGILL
Atlanta Constitution
The Catholic
Bishops Speak---
Atlanta, Ga.

Pastoral letters from Roman Catholic bishops in the Southern cities of Charleston, S. C., Savannah, and Atlanta, Georgia (each the seat of a major diocese), recently have been read in all diocesan churches advising communicants that this is a year of preparation for the integration of all parochial schools. There will be, said bishops, additional pastoral letters, sermons, study clubs and school instruction "to explain the full Catholic teaching on racial justice."



Sun 2-26-61

This teaching is against racial discrimination. "When changing times have called for fresh application of the eternal God-given principles, our loyal people have not wavered," said the letter. Here was at least subtle reference to the fact that in New Orleans some few have not been loyal to the church's teachings, Leander Perez, racial extremist of Louisiana being most notable among them.

"In time of crisis, our people look to the church to state moral principles and to apply them to practical situations," the letters said. "With racial tension mounting, the Church must speak out clearly. In justice to our people, we cannot abandon leadership to the extremists whose only creed is their own fear and hatred.

## Unworthy Fear

"The fear is unworthy and in large measure unjustified. All peoples have a pride of race, a pride which they naturally desire to maintain and to preserve. This pride of race is by no means destroyed or even weakened when one people recognizes the rights of others. . . ."

These three pastoral decisions, in two deep-South states, are important. They already have caused considerable soul searching in Protestant churches which operate or control private or parochial schools.

The Roman Catholic church is not numerically strong in either of the two states involved, but it is growing steadily. It is doing so through college student programs and a continual expansion of mission churches. Time was in the deep South states when a Roman Catholic church seen outside the larger urban areas was a novelty. This is no longer true.

## Others to Come

These pastoral letters, read in South Carolina and Georgia, are merely the first of others to come in other states. The parochial schools will be desegregated. The Christian church, Protestant and Roman Catholic, might question whether they should lead or follow secular authority. But none will question the wisdom of the bishops' plan for education from the pulpit, in the church school classes, and in study groups. This would be a wise policy for all churches and all communities.

There are many good people who are quite honest in their opposition to the changes in American life and who do not comprehend the fact the Constitution of their country is equally applicable in all public fields of life. They have been deceived, and are still being deceived, by the extremist leadership.

A great many letters ask, "Why don't you promote our side?" One's compassion is stirred by such letters because what they want is to be told that the change will not come and may be avoided. They do not want to hear the truth because it is, to them, unpleasant. Therefore, they prefer falsehood and deception to the facts.

Change is coming. If intelligently met and understood, it need not bring any shock or great difficulty. It is only when there is long defiance of law and of court orders that violence and grief come.

The bishops' letters are more than mere straws in the wind. They say what many a silent Protestant minister would like to tell his congregation if he had apostolic authority behind him.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Jan 31
Constitution
Distressed
Peoples
Atlanta, Ga.
Sun 3-12-61

Three news stories are the more revealing if tied together. Unemployment has set a new high, causing statisticians to go back to 1941 for a comparison. Eight areas, including Detroit and Philadelphia, have been designated as including enough distressed persons to qualify for the food stamp plan, which the administration hopes will be ready by June. It will permit the more needy to exchange stamps in grocery stores for designated foods.



The Bureau of Census announces that in 1960 only 52 per cent of the nation's Negro population lived in the 11 states of the old Confederacy. The industrial cities of the East and West have shown the largest gain in this shift of the Negro out of the South in search of better jobs and an escape from some of the most onerous pressures of a segregated society.

These three news items are closely interrelated, each illuminating the deeper meaning of the other. The jobless figures show that in the depressed and industrial centers, Negro unemployment percentages are about three times that of white workers.

## Too Few Skills

It goes deeper than that. A dismaying percentage of those who migrate out of the South bring with them too few skills and too little education. In New York a jobless Negro said, "It has got so now you can't get a job walking dogs on Park Avenue unless you have got a high school diploma. It's that bad, man; it's that bad."

A further light is shed by want ads on what is sure to be, short of war, a permanent problem on unemployment.

At a time when there are more people out of work than in any year since 1941, there is a shortage of skilled workers in most of the nation's newer industries.

Walking through the distressed areas of the major cities, where knots of embittered, idle men sit on steps in front of the squalid tenements, or stand around outside a tavern in what is called "Corner Lounge," one is forced to accept a hard fact. It is that just as many of the middle-aged and older men in the coal fields will never work again, save at odd jobs or those provided by some form of federal aid. The same is true of thousands of those in the cities.

We are already paying a high price for our failure to provide a better education. The grievous cost to Southerners of both races of trying to pay for two school systems and being unable to do well by either one of them, is a painful fact met with time and time again as one talks to those in the states and towns of the depressed areas.

## Basic Idea

President Kennedy's suggestion that we might consider a domestic Peace Corps in our great cities perhaps contains a basic idea. It will be a grave error, for which the future will not pardon us, if we try to brush the problem of the cities under the rug of a hoped-for business pick-up or see in the slow increase in steel output signs that we may be having an upturn in the next three to six months.

The new machines and products keep coming. About 50 per cent of the jobs at which men now work were not even in existence a mere half century ago. There are not many, white or colored, in the vast shift of population since 1950, who have brought with them enough education or schools to permit them to knock at the doors of the electronic companies or to qualify for work in some of the new metal fabrication plants.

President Kennedy's new executive order banning bias in government employment and federal contracts is one long overdue. It will relieve some of the inequities, but it is a vast, incredible, difficult task worsening in the many areas where several millions of Americans have been bypassed by the industrial revolution.

All about us the world is changing. The X-15 plane has just been piloted at a speed of 2,650 miles an hour, but many of our political and social responsibility concepts remain what they were 20 years ago.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Journal
# What Do We Really Want?
Constitution



This piece is about the nation's desperate educational needs and the anemia of understanding about them. It requires a preamble.

President Kennedy's bold program to move the nation forward will succeed or fail in the degree that it has public support.

The somewhat pathetic spectacle of bitterness and vindictiveness of spirit on the part of the Republican conservative leaders in the Congress is indicative of the opposition which the measures will have. This not-fully comprehended anger is publicly extended to their own defeated candidate, Richard Nixon, and privately, and in less degree, to Mr. Eisenhower himself. This makes their opposition the less rational, but the more dangerous.

That it is carping and will, in time, o'er leap itself and, like vaulting ambition, "fall on the other side," is certain. But that it may, in the time of its petty flowering, delay or seriously damage necessary legislation also is true.

What do we Americans wish to do about education?

The children in states with less resources than others have a poorer quality of education than children in the more prosperous states.

Is this "American?"

## Second Rate

The children in the Southern states, plus those in two or three of the Western commonwealths, for this reason long have had second-rate educational opportunities. In some of those states where the inevitability of desegregation is being resisted by mobs, by governors and legislatures which give leadership to the violent rather than the children, the better young teachers properly are leaving. Only the older ones with investments in tenure remain. This problem, happily, grows less. It now is reduced to four states.

(Never before in our history has the old statement by Booker T. Washington to the effect that those who would hold the Negro down must get down in the ditch with him had so much application as in the present crisis.)

There are 50 states. What is the national picture?

President Kennedy's task force in education recently reported. It provided the irrefutable fact that millions of American children, in a country dedicated to opportunity, are deprived of it.

Do we, as a people, comprehend that the national interest demands a first-rate system of schools in which every child has full and equal opportunity? There is no assurance we do. The President would like us to make up our minds.

## Recommendation

The task force recommended the President support legislation designed to provide $20 per child to those states where personal income per student in average daily attendance in public schools is below 70 per cent of the national average. The recommendations carefully retained local control.

It was estimated that roughly one quarter of the 50 states (mostly in the South) would be benefited by such legislation.

Approximately 7,000,000 children would be helped to full educational opportunity.

But are Southern congressmen interested in the prospects?

Not many.

Are the Southern people?

Increasingly so, but many are still being confused by political and lay leadership.

There are many schools in the great cities and rural schools in all areas of the nation where the need is vast. Millions of American children annually are deprived of opportunity to be educated. The nation is denied their talents.

Is this what we want? Or will we support federal aid?

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution
# Other Lessons Are Ahead of Us



There are lessons ahead, unpalatable to some, for which we will do well to prepare psychologically and practically. They are in the field of constitutional rights. They will follow not immediately, but closely on the heels of the instruction provided by the decision on discrimination in education. This teaching remains unacceptable to those whose thinking has been conditioned by status and custom. Yet, it will be folly to ignore the future.

The U.S. Constitution is in that future. It awaits only court tests or executive orders in areas which have long remained unchallenged. There is no reason why we, as a people, should close our eyes to these facts only to be painfully surprised, and resentful, when confronted with the changes ahead.

We must begin with a basic fact. It is that every citizen has equal rights in all public fields of life—at the ballot box, in public schools, transportation, et cetera. Knowledge of this surprises some Americans and angers others. But the thoughtful will accept it gratefully because if discriminations were possible they might not always be applied to the same persons. None of us would be safe.

## The Schools

Actually, of course, in the case of the schools the right of the states to operate them has not been abridged. States may teach what they wish, pay teachers what they like, maintain schools or abolish them, and have as many grades as they desire. There is no limit on what they may do to or with their schools.

There has been no federal "tyranny." The Constitution applies equally to each of the 50 states. It does not interfere with the schools or the operation of them. It merely says the states may not discriminate against any citizen who is qualified to attend them. There is no sophistry about this. It is wrong to deceive the people, as some political leaders do, by crying "tyranny" when none exists. Each state is treated the same.

So, we need to look ahead.

The government of the United States collects taxes. They are, as Justice Holmes once said, the price we pay for civilization. These taxes are collected from all citizens.

In the past, and in the present, for example, state, municipal and county governments or authorities have obtained federal funds to build highways, hospitals, airports, and housing. This is true in all states.

That it is unconstitutional to impose restrictive segregation in these fields is plain. It has been done for a long time because it was unchallenged. As soon as a court test is made, or an executive order declared, this will come to an end. We, as a people, owe it to ourselves to understand this and to be ready for it.

## Taxes

The courts cannot defy the Constitution and say that taxes may be collected from all, but that the buildings constructed by taxes may be closed to some citizens and open to others.

This fact may, and will be objectionable to some persons. But there is no tyranny in it. It merely affirms what the Constitution says—that all citizens have the same public rights. The fact that many persons wish this were not so, or object to it, does not alter it. There is no way to have Constitutional guarantees if one citizen has fewer rights than another.

We may be equally prepared to face the fact that if a test is made about discrimination, it will not be possible for contractors or manufacturers producing under government contracts—paid for with tax money—to discriminate in employment or to segregate the work force.

The ballot cannot much longer be withheld from the qualified.

Our private lives will not be affected. They will always remain, so long as we have the Constitution in effect, subject to our own decisions and choices. But all of us will be wise to understand that in the public fields, including those in which tax money is involved, every citizen has the same rights. And, further, the thoughtful citizen will conclude he would not wish it to be otherwise.

RALPH
McGILL
The Atlanta
New England
Constitution
# Looks South

Much of New England looks toward the South these days and there is a question mark in its eyes. There are those who look Southward trying to see behind men such as a Board of Regents member in Georgia who reportedly threatened the university president, and the rioters who tried to close down schools.



Still others believe they see an injustice in the movement of textile and other manufacturing plants into a South where wages are somewhat lower and, rumors say, tax benefits and other economic seductions are employed. The latter is a more tangible matter. And, like the problem of race, it is a national one.

An example will do. In New Haven a few days ago, the more than 300 employees of a mill, which had done business in the community for almost a hundred years, found a brief notice in their weekly pay envelopes. It said the plant was being closed as of that weekend. There would be no more work.

There were some reading such notices who had worked there for more than 30 years, others for better than two decades. None had any indication the mill was to be closed.

## Consolidation

They, and the community, read in the newspaper story about the closing that the company had decided to consolidate its operations in Southern mills. This may or may not mean an increase in Southern employment. The odds are that in most such stories, which come with what seems to be an increasing frequency, the word automation is implied.

The story of the mill is a familiar one. It had been founded as a small one-owner operation. It had prospered. Sons had gone into it. It became a family-owned business. Almost a century later several owners sold out to a large corporation. The abandonment of the plant and consolidation elsewhere followed a short time afterward.

The local reaction was immediate. There was a certain callousness in the manner of the death of the plant and the jobs so long provided. Angry Connecticut legislators immediately introduced legislation requiring any company planning to abandon operations to provide ample notice.

To the observer it seemed that the free enterprise system was done no favor by those engaged in the abrupt consolidation. It is highly unlikely those who lost 300 jobs will think well of a system, insofar as they are concerned, which so calamitously fell in upon them and their families. The free enterprise system deserves better by those who live by it.

## Criticism

Next to the criticism of the company was that directed ambiguously against the South. This mysterious "South" is seen not merely as a place where riots swirl about schools, where Negro children are shouted at and cursed by angry women in New Orleans and Little Rock, and two young colored persons met with rioting at the University in Athens, Georgia. It also

is viewed sullenly as a place which seems to persuade old, established plants to come to it, leaving many jobless behind. It seems to the unemployed as a region where shrewd men can hire people to work for less and where other benefits, not elsewhere obtainable, are part of the lure.

All this adds to an already unhappy, distorted image of the South. That the South also is in transition and has its own jobless is not understood.

Outside the South there is a clear understanding of the fact the racial problem is the most grave and critical internal crisis the nation faces. It is tied so tightly to international events that neither the nation nor the Christian church may avoid it. Somehow, we must hurry to lift the anguish and the danger of it from off the nation's back.

We do not need new legislation. This is something we must find the will to do by ourselves. There is need for the White House to lead in it, and there are indications it will. Not until we do this, will the South be able fully to make its great strength and good will felt in the national forces of morality, politics and industry. –

**RALPH**

# McGILL

## A Report By 3 Senators



At about the time the explosive Patrice Lumumba story spread itself across the pages of the world's newspapers and poured also from radio and television sets, three United States senators made public a report on their recent tour of inspection of 16 African nations.

These men do not come from large urban areas where minority voting groups have unusual voting strength. They are, indeed, from rather thinly populated Western states whose majority interests are regional and national, not foreign.

These senators, who returned home deeply concerned with what they had seen, are Frank Church of Idaho, Gale McGee of Wyoming, and Frank E. Moss of Utah.

### Future Survival

What their findings do represent is the deep and increasing concern of thoughtful men for the future survival and progress of their country. The three men are what rural trial lawyers describe as "eyeball witnesses." They have traveled more than 22 thousand miles in Africa.

The senators joined in announcing a familiar conclusion and a new hope. They found, as have others before them, that "racial discrimination in the United States probably is the most important of all the natural barriers to progress of cooperation and friendship with the new African countries and with others in the process of emerging as nations."

They add a bit of new data to our knowledge. Even Africans who are our friends and who understand the peculiar problems of the United States were found by the senators to "react emotionally" to instances of discrimination or violence in the United States.

It is possible to provide corroborating evidence also of the "eyeball witness" category. On the day before the senators filed their report in Washington a young woman from Sierra Leone stood to ask a question of a speaker in a graduate political science class at Yale University. She is an able and hard-working student who has made many friends and is highly respected by her fellow students. She began calmly enough. She wanted to know why this country, although receiving United Nations and ambassadorial diplomats from the new African countries, nonetheless permitted them to be subjected to a considerable number of humiliations and insults in seeking housing in Washington and New York.

### With Emotion

As she proceeded with her questioning, which was really a story of discrimination, she became more and more emotional. "It is difficult to feel friendly when oneself and one's country are so often snubbed or insulted," she continued, her voice and hands trembling with the intensity of her feelings.

This is but one example which sustains the findings of the three senators, that even our friends react emotionally to instances of racial violence and discrimination in the country toward which they look with so much hope and expectation and for which they otherwise have so much respect.

The Kennedy administration somehow has managed to create a great deal of hope and expectation. It has in it men with ideas and techniques they are eager to try. It wants to attempt new things where old ones have failed. The Lumumba case will handicap us and the Congo for a long time to come. It will require more of our diplomats and of our public knowledge of the issues.

But we will move officially to grapple with it and the many demands growing out of the huge continent where so much that is confused, yet vital, is crowding into the last half of a century which is already heavy with events which have shaken our world. Two nations in it, the United States and Russia, are probing into space and reaching for the planets while the newest nations are emerging from colonialism, illiteracy, and the clutching confinements of a tribal culture which psychologically stifles individual development.

What the three senators have done is to add their voices to others who are trying most earnestly to tell us that our country's future and security demand of us that we move quickly about the business of ending discrimination.

**RALPH**

# McGILL

## Bloody Noses In U.N. Gallery



Many motivations other than Lumumba's ghost were behind the fist-swinging, blood-bringing, bruising demonstrations in the United Nations galleries. One of them was an emotion not well comprehended in this country. It is the identity of an increasing number of Negro students and younger members of the growing middle class with African aspirations and politics. They have been bent in this direction by their frustrations at home in contending with discrimination.

The U.N. delegations are aware of this. The State Department knows it. So do our diplomats in Asian and African countries. But American public opinion has not yet understood the development of this process of identity. That it is dangerous, in the long view, to all Americans, of whatever color, is inescapably true.

This is why there is in Washington an understanding of why it is necessary not merely to bring an end to such spectacles as New Orleans continues to offer and those of a like nature which have flamed into heated headlines in other areas, but to move more rapidly toward an elimination of discriminations and an acceptance of Constitutional decisions and law. The national security already requires national understanding.

### Crises

That the United Nations is beseiged by crisis is perhaps an understatement. That this presents the United States and the Western nations with an equal crisis involving NATO also is true.

A new U.S. policy has been long overdue. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, despite interruption of his talk by the wildly emotional demonstration, went a long way toward presenting at least the outline of it. He made the strongest anti-colonialism statement yet pronounced by this government. We, who freed ourselves of colonial rule, have a story to tell. Mr. Stevenson did it well.

Before the murder of Lumumba (who was as much of a problem alive as he is dead), the Stevenson statement would have been widely hailed. But now the African states of Ghana, Guinea, and Mali have joined with Russia and the U.A.R. in opposing the U.N., and on "recognizing" Antoine Gizenga as the "legitimate" head of the Congolese government. So has the U.A.R. Gizenga, Moscow trained, is said to make "Lumumba look like a lamb."

But there are African nations which do not want to see the United Nations broken up or rendered impotent. They will try to do what they can. The anti-colonial statement by Ambassador Stevenson will assist them.

It will be less easy to accuse them of supporting colonialism.

### Belgium's Agony

Belgium will not like the Stevenson pronouncements. That unhappy country may pull out of NATO because of it. The national agony and crisis of Belgium is perhaps more acute than that of any of the old continental nations.

While Belgium has not sent any of her own troops into Katanga where, under Tshombe, an anti-Lumumba force operates, she has allowed one of her retired paratroop officers to go there and form a foreign legion. In addition, the gendarmery is officered by Belgians. Belgium also has "advisers" with Colonel Mobutu's "Force Publique."

Ambassador Stevenson called on Belgium to expel all her nationals from the Congo. This will not be well received in Brussels. But it may not be denied the Belgians have been the most serious obstruction to an armistice in Africa.

The U.N. future will remain blurred for some time. All is not lost, though the outlook is melancholy. The forces of Sweden, Nigeria, Ghana, Ethiopia and Ireland remain operative under U.N. command. The U.A.R., Guinea, Morocco and Indonesia have indicated they will remove their troops. The dilemma may narrow down to one of obtaining from the U.N. an agreement to provide enough men to force an armistice—or to pull out. Should the latter alternative prevail, then, indeed, would we draw near to the third world war.

31a 1961



RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

# The New U.S. Atty. General

The Kennedys, Jack and Robert, are a new breed in government. How they will work remains for that day-by-day future to reveal. In a sense, and only in a sense, they remind one of some of the figures in the early "Virginia Dynasty." That is to say, they both possess a strong sense of public responsibility. They are not, as were the early Virginians, dependent on "a job" or office for a livelihood. Each has worked toward a career in government or in its service. Each is an intellectual by education, environment and experience.



It is in this light that the appointment of Robert Kennedy as U. S. Attorney General must be examined. It is no secret the brother refused the repeated urgings of the President-elect. It is well established that it was only when the elder put it on a somewhat personal basis that the younger man accepted.

The danger is there. This selection could become the vulnerable point in the Kennedy administration. None fails to understand this. But this possibility was one of several debated over and over by the two brothers. Jack Kennedy is not an obtuse man. He was, and is, aware of the criticism which develops out of his decision. He was, and is, aware the Republicans of the more partisan variety will be sharp-shooting at the Justice Department's every act.

## Another Side

There is another side to this political coin. It has to do with images. This greatly used word is in danger of becoming somewhat shopworn. But it is important. We think out of our images. Our decisions are largely influenced by them. The image of an America able to isolate itself from the troubles of the world still persists. But the massive image of such a possibility was largely smashed by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December, 1941.

There is a great deal of nepotism in American politics. It exists at all levels of government. A number of senators have been criticized for hiring relatives. But again, Robert Kennedy is neither a political hack out of a job nor a relative who needs assistance from his older brother.

The office of U. S. Attorney General also has changed, along with everything else. The incumbent, Attorney General William Rogers, is a capable man. He almost certainly has been frustrated in much that he wanted to do because there was never enough close association and understanding between him and the White House. The inescapable fact is that as world conditions and pressures have changed, so has the demands on the various offices of the national government.

## Revolution

There is today a no more sensitive administration office than that of the one which will be filled by Robert Kennedy. That we are in the midst of a world revolution in ideas, political and sociological, is not disputed. That we are under great pressure from the Soviets and the Comunist system is obvious.

That the office of Attorney General of the United States should be one which must increasingly deal, not merely with the old familiar octopus of monopolistic practices and associations in restraint of trade, but also with the acutely sensitive problems of race, is something new in our experience. The latter alone is a massive job. If we do not find a way to bring all Americans to the realization that in all public fields such as public education, transportation and voting rights, et cetera (wholly aside from the private, social life), there must be no discrimination, then we will defeat our own country.

The fact is that new demands on the office of the U. S. Attorney General make it a new office, or, if we prefer, give it a new obligation and status. The President-to-be wanted someone in that office with whom he could work—someone who understood the problems. In this light, the appointment of Robert Kennedy can hardly be defined in the old image of nepotism.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

# Kennedy --- He Is Not 'Boyish'

Add Roadside Notes: President-elect John Kennedy fits well into Florida setting. His tan, acquired under various suns, is deep and smooth. It obviously is not that of a two-week vacation. It is the tan of a man who, from childhood, has been close to sea, sailboats and beaches.



Looking at him in the testing light of the sun, one realizes that he does not, after all, look "boyish." As he steps from an aircraft, walks into a room, or onto a platform, he wears a smile. It is a boyish smile in that it is generous and uninhibited. The man smiles. At that moment one thinks, "He looks boyish." But, seen in serious, or even routine discussion, one revises that first impression. There is nothing boyish about him. He is a young man nearing his middle forties. But his face reflects the maturity of having seen death in battle, of pain, of decision, education, and the varied experiences which have been his. The boyishness is gone from all but the smile.

It is quite possible a number of persons already have revised their first impressions of John Kennedy. The wisest of these have done so on their own evaluations after meeting and talking with him.

## Maturity

So, it is no boyish youngster who, this month, will take the historic oath to serve as President of the United States. He has adequate maturity to grapple, as he must, with issues and problems which predecessors of more maturity of years have failed to resolve. If he fails, it will not be for want of grappling with them.

He will need maturity. And, he will require it from his cabinet and, most of all, from the American people. His advisers are well selected. It was in their appointments that some persons learned of his mettle. His Secretary of Labor, for example, was not on the lists supplied by the top men in the unions. His Secretary of State is a man whom he had never met until a few days before naming him. He, too, was not the choice of any pressure group, political or otherwise. If one sits quietly and recalls the past, one arrives at the gratifying conclusion that John Kennedy has acted with less talk about what he planned than any other president-elect in this generation.

He will need mature and resolute help about him where the major issues are concerned. And the American people can assist him by not giving ear to the clamor of fools, and the claques of pressure groups which are geared to produce floods of telegrams, letters and speeches on the floor of the Congress.

## Negotiation

The Soviets, for example, have indicated a willingness to negotiate. This must be looked into. We have seen there is some divergence of opinion between them and Peking. We long have hoped for such a development. If it is there, and if the USSR should be willing to negotiate on a basis of mutual concessions, we should go as far as they in readiness to discuss.

In the nature of things Chiang Kai-shek cannot live many more years. Is there a chance to have Formosa recognized as an independent nation, neither Chiang's nor Mao's, under the United Nations and also protected by treaty with this country? It is doubtful, but we should explore it. Formosa can't always remain "Chiang's China." Our dilemma is that we do not wish, nor can we, if we so desired, do anything but remain constant in our pledge to the Chinese and Formosans. The challenge to us is to find a way to eliminate the island as one of the major hot spots on the map. The Chinese might, under Soviet pressure, agree. This we must explore.

These are but two issues which will require the support of public opinion. And there remain, of course, the compelling domestic demands. Maturity is the essential ingredient of our future.

RALPH
The Atlanta
McGILL
Constitution

# A Late Night Game

In Athens, Georgia, a basketball game ended. The university's old rival, Georgia Tech, had won in an overtime period.



Then there began a more meaningful game in which everyone lost and the decent, civilized instincts of Western civilization were shamed. It was a defeat which within days will be advertised in pamphlets and exhibited on the screens of movie houses and television stations in far away places in Southeast Asia and in the strife-torn new nations of Africa where Communist influences are gaining and a hate-America campaign grows.

The thousand or more participants in the late night game where two Negro students were the opposing team, will, of course, not care that in Moscow they are welcomed with joy as invaluable aids to communism's steady, unrelenting campaign to prove that America's claim to democracy and individual freedom is a lie. The Red Chinese radio and printing presses will have the results of this night game distributed to millions within weeks. And their headline will be: "This Is Democracy and Freedom in America."

## In Dormitory

What the Communist propagandists will not tell is that on the one night the Negro girl was in a university dormitory more than 50 other girls came to her room to make her welcome. They will not tell that the student newspaper had put out an extra to urge students to obey court orders and their administration. The Communists will not inform the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America that there was a welcoming committee for the Negro girl and that an overwhelming majority of students sought to give their country, their state, and the South a good name. Nor will they know that the university did all it could without state help to uphold the principles of America, Christianity and free education.

The hate-America campaign will be stepped up and those who listen to it will not be told there were faculty members and students who wept when the players in the late night game attacked the dormitory with stones and vulgar curses.

Nor will they be informed that what happened was in the Communist pattern. The situation had been in hand. For one full day there was no trouble. But then came extremist adults. The inevitable, infiltrating adults, mostly middle-aged and older, but always accompanied by a few young toughs. They are the reserves who always come off the bench into these late night games. Some had come a distance of more than a hundred miles. They are those usually identified by the word "outsiders."

## The Majority

The hate-America propagandists will not explain how the majority of students were betrayed by some adults in responsible positions in education and government.

The enemies of our country will tell, however, about the mayor of a small nearby town who hied on the rioters, offering to go bail for any who might be arrested. Those who are being taught to hate America will hear a lot about him. He will be a special feature of anti-America propaganda. It will say that a mayor of an American city encouraged the rioters and it will be made to appear that this is a true picture of what American mayors are like.

This will not matter at all to those who played in the night game for which there are never printed programs because none is needed to know the players. They will not care. But their children and grandchildren will reap the harvest. We are trampling out the vintage where the grapes of a terrible wrath are stored. And all we can ask is that God have mercy on generations to come. The sins of the fathers will be visited on them in trouble and sorrow.

The real story, perhaps, was on page one with that of the riot. It said that four Negro students had filed application to enter Georgia Tech. If the South plans to solve its educational problem with mobs and defiance of law, it will need to train additional rioters.

RALPH McGILL

# Court Interposition in Georgia

## Circumstances of Integration Case At University Called Fortunate

When the State of Georgia was ordered to admit two Negro students to the State University, a veteran newsman said, "This is interposition at its best. Either destiny or a merciful God has interposed to provide the State with an enormous piece of good luck."

History will so classify it. Georgia's moment of decision was a stroke of good fortune because it came at the State level. It confronted the General Assembly on its first day in annual session. It was a problem for the body as a whole, not a politically-pressured committee.

It was an issue which had to be met on a State-wide basis—and not by a local school board.

The Governor, the House and Senate—and not a mayor, a school superintendent, and board members, all subject to local intimidations and harrassments—were required to act.

No city or district board could possibly have coped with a court order to desegregate without the usual troubles, the need for United States marshals and police in extra numbers.

The legislature, too, was in luck. No constituent, save the few which are psychopathically rabid, want the State university closed with thousands of young men and women sent home. The difficulties of obtaining admission to college and universities are well known.

Georgia's total university system membership is 32,869, with more than a third of it at two units, the university and the nationally known Georgia Institute of Technology. Other Deep South university systems have student bodies of equivalent size. Under the Virginia decisions, one unit may not be closed and another left open.

Even the most fanatically prejudiced persons flinch from a decision to dismiss that many thousands of young men and women from class and close the doors of learning and opportunity. They are less considerate of children. The more extreme do not mind depriving a child of education. But there is something about closing down a vast university system which makes them hesitate.

Georgia's legislature itself was in luck.

It could travel over a road of acceptance already paved with decisions at Little Rock, Virginia, and New Orleans. There now is left no ground on which falsehood can maneuver.

The road ahead will be arduous. But now that reason is more able to compete with falsehood, common sense can begin to function.

After all, the original wise and moderate decision of the United States Supreme Court remains. It was based on deliberate speed. It included safeguards against any sudden inundation of change.

Going to school is not a social gathering. Students always have broken into volunteer groups of associates. Going to school is sitting at a desk and being taught. It is coming to school and going home. There is nothing social about it. The courts have in no manner invaded private life.

We have been brought so close to the dark abyss of a loss of education that we have seen what it would mean to every community, large or small, to be without schools.

Now that the voices of viciousness have grown less strident, perhaps we can begin to use the court decisions, the placement laws, and the processes of law to go ahead with our school systems without closing them, without makeshift private classes, or any subterfuge which causes a Southern child to have less opportunity than one from another region.

RALPH McGILL

# Lavender And Old Lace

There is an aroma of lavender and old lace about some of the mail. One thinks of flowers pressed in albums, of old musty parlors with stereoptican views on the table; of juleps "stirred with a silver spoon" and a pastoral peacefulness.



This is what makes such letters go so straight to the heart. This mail of which I write is not the vulgar "go to hell" sort. It is that which comes mostly from old persons, shaken by the events of the present, unused to the consequences of ideas and events.

Like this, for example, directly from a letter:

"I remember my father telling us about how well treated the slaves were. I am 80 years old now, and yet I can recall him saying how happy they were and how the slave owners had been slandered by the abolitionists. I am sure our South is just the same today. We wish to treat these people well."

This letter and its contents are utterly irrelevant. There are an astonishing number which express the same thought. One can see the gentle, decent, troubled lady who writes. Events have passed her by. She recalls a comfortable past, a loving father and the things he told her.

### *The Writers*

In thinking of these old persons who write such letters, one earnestly hopes life somehow will continue to pass them gently by and that they may suffer nothing more than wistful wishes that everyone would be nice and treat other persons well.

Another letter over which one can do nothing more than shake a wondering head, reads in part:

"If newspapers and television and people would quit writing and talking about this thing (the school problem), it would all die out. The Negro people are happy just the way things are. I have talked with my cook, who has been with me 25 years, and she tells me she and her friends wish it would all quiet down."

This letter, sincerely written, expressed a belief incredibly held by an incredible number of persons who should know better. Doctors, businessmen, and others of mature age and experience write they have talked with their chauffeurs, yard men, or with the maid who comes to clean the house, and find this is all the creation of "radicals" or "do-gooders," or the "NAACP." It is obvious from many of the letters they do not know what the NAACP is. But they have heard "it" is "responsible."

These letters also produce a feeling of sympathetic frustration. They are not from mean or vicious persons. They are written by troubled men and women who have lived so far out of the mainstream of life that they are unacquainted with the facts of it. They reflect that universal yearning to which all flesh is heir, to live a life undisturbed.

### *Troubled Lady*

One troubled lady wrote: "I am almost 90 years old. I remember as a girl in South Carolina the Red Shirts handled trouble like this. Why can't we do something like that now? My uncle died for these rights. Why do we have to surrender them?"

She did not understand her uncle's cause lost its war.

Still another: "This trouble grows out of the foolish decision to educate the Negro. The happiest Negroes I know are those who are skilled workmen. I am for them having their rights, but we have gone too far with education."

These samples, taken literally from one classification of mail, illustrate how unaware many persons are of what goes on in the world today, and of how this country is caught up in it. These people do not hate. They are not vindictive. They just don't know what has happened and what is happening.

All of them, the haters, the uninformed, the unaware, the dissenters, seem not to understand that the Constitution of the United States applies to all citizens alike.

And reading the mail one wonders wherein our educational system has failed to make this elemental fact plain to all.

31a 1961

**RALPH**

# The McGILL

Atlanta Constitution

## A Report By Georgians

Atlanta Ga.

School strife in New Orleans has caused renewed uneasiness among business and financial men in the state. The more responsible members of the legislature have become concerned.



Earl Long became a national scandal, or a comic opera, depending upon how one viewed it.

Companies with money to invest, including at least one major foreign nation, dropped plans to go into the state. Now the school chaos has been added, and the decline continues. The Wall Street Journal recently did a page one story on the economic damage done to New Orleans and the state.

A business concern, expecting to invest several millions of dollars, wants to be sure of some political stability. It also wants a calm climate in which to do business. It certainly expects that its employes, its executives and those in the plant will be able to educate their children.

Investment money does not want to run the risk of mobs, boycotts and the strife which so damaged Little Rock and Arkansas, which for a time threatened Virginia, and which now has added to the deterioration growing out of Earl Long's pathetic folly. In the past two years Louisiana has had an economic loss which reliably is reported the largest percentage of any southeastern state.

### Transition

The Southeast is in a period of transition from agricultur to industry. It badly needs more educated people and more jobs. It cannot have these unless it offers a stable political climate and an educational system which can provide the necessary preparation for university and technological training.

If it does not do this it will condemn a whole region and its people to an undetermined period of a pinched and uncertain economic and educational development.

The state of Georgia has just added its own report. It is shocking but typical.

A serious study, over a period of six months, was participated in by the County Commissioners Association, the Georgia Municipal Association, and a State Senate Committee. The conclusion is that "unless an endowed program of economic development is organized at the earliest possible time, many areas in Georgia will be in such bad shape within five years that it will be virtually impossible for them ever to rebuild their economies."

This is a shocker. But it is a condition well known to those who have been giving it even casual attention.

### Grass Roots

The Georgia study, done by no outside agency or Yankee group but by grass roots people, found that over half of Georgia's 159 counties are "greatly in need of NEW industrial payrolls."

Will they get them by closing their schools?

The report on Georgia by Georgians said further that a dismaying 68 counties actually lost manufacturing employment between 1947 and 1958.

Will closing the schools bring back employment?

Will riots and disorder attract new plants and create jobs?

The Georgia story, in one degree or another, is that of the whole Deep South. The cities, which have been able to offer improved schools and opportunity, have not yet suffered. But the rural counties are in decline and will continue so until they act responsibly with a full understanding of the facts of their own lives and that of our nation and the world.

The Southeast cannot much longer deny the national values. It is face to face with reality. No amount of anger, wishful thinking, breast-beating, or defiance of law will change that reality.

**RALPH**

# The McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

## Stand by the Grand Dragon

Atlanta Ga.

Thurs. 1-5-61

It may be that for some a most commendable New Year's resolution by Mr. Bill Hendrix, veteran grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan's Southern Knights, was drowned out by the echo of old St. Nick's sleigh bells. For those who did miss the Dragon's announcement, it is herewith presented:



"I see no way to stop racial integration in the schools and it looks to me like the best thing to do is accept it," he told the Associated Press in Oldsmar, Florida, his headquarters. "I cannot agree to such things as bombing and burning schools."

Dragon Hendrix therefore proclaimed his further resolve—he is quitting the Klan.

Now, this is important for two basic reasons. One is that Bill Hendrix has been a Klan figure for more than 15 years. He would not be getting out if he did not face certain realities in the new struggle for Klan power. This brings us to the second point.

It is that the real criminal element is getting a foothold in the Klan, as well as in associated organizations. They have always been in it and have been used for beatings, intimidations and, here and there, school bombings.

### A Haven

This element found the Klan a haven in the old Reconstruction years. Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest was finally forced to dissolve the original KKK because, he said, "It has become a refuge of scoundrels." The revived Klan in the 1920's also became a cover for criminals. In some states they committed murders, rapes and other major law violations and had enough members on juries and in law enforcement agencies to delay punishment. The scoundrels soon dominated and an outraged public opinion forced the organizations into decline.

Dragon Bill Hendrix, a veteran of many years in Klan circles, cannot any longer stomach the leadership which is going outside the law. It is significant that he put this into words, saying, "I cannot agree to such things as bombing and burning schools."

This is an honest statement, and, if adhered to, merits sincere recognition and commendation.

It merits something else, too. Only the woolly-minded will fail to comprehend what Bill Hendrix is saying to the nation. It is that the resistance to the Supreme Court orders in the school cases is now being taken over, in large measure, by those who intend to go outside the law in their defiance of the processes of courts. This will destroy the spirit of economy of the states and cities which permit it to happen.

### Limited Opportunity

There is one more obvious comment. It is this:

If Bill Hendrix, a man whose opportunities for education and experience were somewhat limited, can find the intellectual honesty and courage to announce he is quitting the Klan business because segregation in the schools has been declared unconstitutional and because he no longer sees any way to prevent it, even by going outside the law with violence, what about the rest of us?

What about governors, senators, legislators, editors, tycoons of business, industry and the professions? Can a long-time dragon of the KKK stand up and be counted while they continue silent?

What Mr. Hendrix has said cannot be dismissed as an obscure incident. In effect, it is this:

He accepts the reality of the Supreme Court decision that segregation because of race is illegal in the schools. He accepts the reality the court will not change its mind. He is unwilling to go outside the law. He cannot agree to violence as resistance.

So, there stands the long-time dragon of the Klans.

So standing, he also stands on the conscience of every citizen uncommitted to the processes of law. Can they do less than the grand dragon?

By now it must be as plain to everyone as it is to retiring Dragon Hendrix that the choice is between public education or no public education; between chaos and severe economic loss and a progressive, developing future.

**RALPH**

# McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

## Interposition At its Best!

p. 1

When the state of Georgia was ordered to admit two Negro students to the state university, a veteran newsman said, "This is interposition at its best. Either destiny or a merciful God has interposed to provide the state with an enormous piece of good luck."



History will so classify it.

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It was an issue which had to be met on a statewide basis—and not by a local school board.

The governor, the House and Senate—and not a mayor, a school superintendent, and board members, all subject to local intimidations and harassments—were required to act.

No city or district board could possibly have coped with a court order to desegregate without the usual troubles, the need for U.S. marshals and police in extra numbers.

The legislature, too, was in luck. No constituent, save the few who are psychopathically rabid, want the state university closed with thousands of young men and women sent home. The difficulties of obtaining admission to colleges and universities are well known.

### Total Membership

Georgia's total university system membership is 32,869, with more than a third of it at two units, the University and the nationally known Georgia Institute of Technology. Other Deep South university systems have student bodies of equivalent size. Under the Virginia decisions one unit may not be closed and another left open.

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Thurs. 1-12-61

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The road ahead will be arduous. But now that reason is more able to compete with falsehood, common sense can begin to function.

### Original Decision

After all, the original wise and moderate decision of the U.S. Supreme Court remains. It was based on deliberate speed. It included safeguards against any sudden inundation of change.

Going to school is not a social gathering. Students always have broken into volunteer groups of associates. Going to school is sitting at a desk and being taught. It is coming to school and going home. There is nothing social about it. The courts have in no manner invaded private life.

Georgia was lucky, too, in her students. Fifty co-eds in the dormitory where the Negro girl stayed went to make her wel-

come. A committee of two greeted her on arrival. Let the ugly adults note all this. The new generation is closer to the Christian ethic, to compassion, and decency, than their grown-up elders. We see a lot of adult deliquency. The juveniles are behaving very well, indeed.

We have been brought so close to the dark abyss of a loss of education that we have seen what it would mean to every community, large or small, to be without schools.

Now that the voices of viciousness have grown less strident, perhaps we can begin to use the court decisions, the placement laws, and the processes of law to go ahead with our school systems without closing them, without makeshift private classes, or any subterfuge which causes a Southern child to have less opportunity than one from another region.

A merciful God used interposition.

**RALPH**

# McGILL

## Pocketbook Reality



One of the more depressing elements in the school cases which now begin to be moments of decision in the Deep South is the continued unwillingness to face reality.

There are two realities. One is of the pocketbook and the other is of education. They are a sort of Siamese-twin reality, separate, yet linked together.

It is dismaying enough, for example, to have a university student leader reveal the depths of his immaturity by pleading that the governor or legislature "keep a university open but segregated." But to have grown men in pulpits, managerial and editorial offices or in the government, say the same thing seriously discounts the future.

Here, indeed, is the nub of the leadership problem. The people of the Deep South deserve to be told the truth. It is not possible to draw an indictment against them as a people. They are no better and no worse than other Americans. Like others, they inescapably are a part of their history and their environment. They have been grossly deceived across a long span of years by the leadership which has said it will keep the schools open but segregated or that it will "do something."

## End Result

There are examples of the end result of reality if there is a will to look at them. Arkansas can offer Gov. Faubus, who first sought to defy the processes of law. He and his state are still paying the pocketbook costs. They will be so paying for a long time. It may be gratifying to some citizens of the state to have a governor like Mr. Faubus, but he is an expensive luxury. He could, incidentally, be of great service to the South if he would rise to the occasion and advise defiant state governments to comply with the courts.

Gov. Jimmie Davis, the guitar-playing, ballad-singing governor of Louisiana, is a study in lack of leadership. It is understandable that even those who support him do not find words of praise palatable. Louisiana, too, is paying the pocketbook costs of the late Earl Long and Gov. Davis.

The pocketbook argument is perhaps the most effective one. That violence, apologists for the violent, false prophets and deceitful leaders have confused the issue is true.

But even they cannot hide the increasing evidence of what it costs to listen to falsehood and unreality.

## Job Shortage

All over the Southeast there is a shortage of jobs. There isn't a city or town that isn't desperately trying to obtain some industrial employment. The need is greatest in the Deep South. It is not without explanation that the Chambers of Commerce in Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi are speaking of the need for thousands of new jobs.

Will a close-down of schools encourage outside investment necessary to create new jobs?

Some predictions can now be made with certainty.

A majority of the high school graduates of the Southeast, more particularly the rural areas, will continue to leave home. They properly want opportunity. If the schools are closed or thrown into the chaos of a makeshift private school plan, all who can will be forced to depart.

Closed schools will harm a rural county more than an urban one. Those which already are losing population and which see the empty stores on their main streets, or around the square, must understand there will be even more of a loss if education is destroyed.

Those who see their tax sources drying up, and farms abandoned or sold to pulp firms, surely cannot be so blind they cannot see what is happening. Lack of schools will accelerate the deterioration.

The choice is education or closed schools. That is the reality. Each state, county and community must ask itself . . . What will be the cost if we destroy education?

**RALPH**

# McGILL

## Dr. Jones Has a Remedy

One day just before Christmas, Dr. Ralph Jones, of the University of Miami Medical School,



even then a deeply troubled man, stepped into the scrub room adjacent an operating chamber in a Miami hospital. He stopped short, eyes riveted on one of the scrub nurses, busy preparing to assist in upcoming operation. An idea surged through his mind. It was an old friend, a distinguished specialist and surgeon from Cuba, well known and highly honored in American medical circles. The doctor had fled Castro's communism as patterned and sold by "Che" Guevara, the evil spirit of Guatemala and now Cuba. He was one of the thousands of refugees in and about Miami. Their daily companions are hunger, despair and hope.

The idea which filled Dr. Jones' mind, as he watched the famous surgeon patiently scrubbing his hands, was one which would enable education to become an effective instrument against the spread of communism. The old friend, whose pride and courage had made him avoid any appeal to colleagues in America for help, was a symbol.

Dr. Jones' idea soon was being implemented.

## A Survey

A survey of the refugees was not easy, but it was done. It revealed there were 287 doctors, many of them surgeons and specialists, who had been able to escape from Cuba. Most of them originally had believed in Castro's promises.

Dr. Jones was able to obtain funds to establish chairs in the medical school for four of them. Their names and qualifications vividly illustrate the quality of men who have fled tyranny. They are: Dr. Jose Centurion, professor of medicine at the University of Havana, and a member of the American College of Physicians; Dr. Hectoro Roccamora, member of the Cuban Society of Gynecology and Obstetrics; Dr. Jose Lasta, professor of surgery at Havana University and member of the American Society; and Dr. Pardo Costello, professor of dermatology and a member of the American Association of Dermatology. In addition to their faculty work these men are assisting with Dr. Jones' idea.

The refugee doctors were advised the University of Miami would provide refresher courses for all who needed them to enable applicants to take, and pass, the examinations set up by the Educational Council for Foreign Medical Graduates.

## Plan Known

Notice of the Miami Medical School plan was made known. Registration closed Jan. 4. Two hundred and nine of the known 287 doctors registered. Others since have come forward to say they did not learn in time and wish, now, to participate. They will be admitted.

Those who pass the E.C.F.M.G. examinataions will be immediately eligible to work as residents in American hospitals or in allied medical fields.

"I have long felt," said Dr. Jones, "that American education provided a magnificent opposition to the spread of communism and that nowhere could it be more helpful than among those who come to us as refugees. These Cuban doctors will be able to continue work. They will retain their professional competence by being able to use their skills. If they return to Cuba when communism is driven out they will remember that this country's educational doors were open to them.

"Most of them will, of course, want to go home. Some may wish to remain here. There are literally hundreds of American communities which are totally without medical care. There is a place for them. We hope to have financial help from various medical associations and foundations. Meanwhile, we have enough to go ahead. I dream of this sort of thing being done for all refugees who flee tyranny and come to us. Our educational system must provide them with the tools and find a place to use them to enrich our own culture, professions and economy."

31a 1961

WHITE (RALPH McGILL)

**RALPH**

# McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

## Homecoming Games and Pain

Atlanta, Ga.

This is the period during the melancholy days of autumn when universities and colleges schedule what they call "Homecoming Day." They seek thereby to lure the old grad back to the old scenes.



The football opponent on homecoming is, of course, selected with the view that said opponent will have little more chance than did a Christian when thrown to one of the emperor's lions. It is true, of course, the uncertainties of life being what they are, that as now and then the Christian killed the lion, homecoming days have been ruined by a visiting team.

Even with all possible precaution, homecomings are usually rather cruel and sad, and only the perpetually ebullient and the continually optimistic are made happy by them.

More often than not, as the Old Grad wanders along the old paths, his memory of happy days when he strolled one of the paths with a coed beside him becomes an ache and a pain. He can smell again the perfume she wore and recall the lilting sound of laughter, and can smell again the aroma of autumn—fallen leaves, the wine of cool air, and the nostalgia of woodsmoke which blows through all the winds of fall.

### Undergraduates

It is at precisely such moments that he encounters a couple of undergraduates, faces alight, holding hands and talking happily as they come along, oblivious of him, or throwing him the most fleeting and casual of glances, such as they would give a tethered goat. Usually, they titter loudly after they have passed by.

His dream goes. He feels, suddenly, the weight of the fat that is on him. His bridgework or his plates feel loose and monstrous. His bifocals blur. His legs suddenly feel heavy and unaccountably weary, as if he had walked for miles, instead of strolling a few hundred yards along the old campus paths. Bitterness comes over him and the taste of time is like unripe persimmons in his mouth.

It is not much better if he meets with old classmates. Too often, unless he hails them, they pass him by. He recalls with a wry smile the wit who said, on returning from a homecoming reunion, that he would never go again because all his class had changed so much they didn't even recognize him.

If they do meet and recognize one another, slap backs and embrace, the moment soon is done. After all, when one has asked whatever became of old Joe and Charlie . . . when one has inquired who it was Sue Brown married and where it is they now live . . . when questions are asked and answered about families and children, and old professors . . . when the game and its probable outcome has been exhausted . . . that does it.

### Middle-Aged Spread

By then one begins to notice the middle-age spread; the gray hairs, the eyeglasses, bodies that are too thin or too heavy; the fading signs of old beauty; the athlete of by-gone years who wears a size 46 suit and puffs when he has finished a sentence of any length . . . then, it is time to break it up and move on.

It is, if anything, worse on the old player . . .

He sits in the stands and he doesn't like that. Enough of his life was spent there on the field for him never to like watching the game as a spectator in the crowd. He always feels lonely. A team feels something. On a team a man feels he is a part of it and akin to the men next to him. In the stands he is lonely and lost, no matter how many are about him.

He sits there, remembering the tense moment before the ball was snapped; the churning of straining feet, the rasp of the canvas pants; the smell and feel of hot, wet woolen sleeves across his face. He remembers the desperate, panting breath; the long runs on the kick-offs; the hard, jolting tackles; the breakthrough; the desperate agony of goal-line stands. And so, he squirms with each play, remembering his youth.

But it is no use. It is gone.

No matter how often a man goes back to the scenes of his youth and strength, they can never be recaptured again.

**RALPH**

The Atlanta Constitution

# McGILL

## Who Wants To Kill U.N.?

Ga. 11-3-61

From a U.N. Notebook: Two groups wish to destroy the United Nations—the Communists and the extreme right wing in America, the Birch-type mentality, which includes the anti-Semitic, anti-Negro forces nationally and Citizens Council extremists in the South.



Both want to have the United Nations moved from this country. Each would like to see the United States quit the United Nations. The Soviets see, as the American frenzied fringe of the right does not, that an American pull-out would give the Russians a mechanism of world politics and propaganda which would enormously enhance their position as a world power.

Atlanta-10a

There is, of course, disappointment because the neutral bloc, which can hold the balance of power, has been so timorous in opposing the Soviet nuclear tests. The explanation is known. The neutrals are more afraid of Russia than they are pro-Communist.

P 1

One African delegate explained it thusly: "We are new nations. We do not have economic or political stability. We have no military strength. We do not wish to attract the attention of the Soviets. We know that the United States will not do us harm. We are aware that if we antagonize the Russians they will harass us by financing Communists among us to agitate and demonstrate.

### Trade Needed

"Also, most of us will need trade and assistance. If we cannot have it from the United States we must turn to the Russians. But there may be less of this. Already, in Guinea, Egypt and elsewhere, there is a growing disenchantment with Soviet aid. One hears Africans beginning to say, 'After all, the Russians are Europeans.' There is more and more evidence of Chinese influence in Africa.

"The new nations," he continued, "primarily wish to avoid any involvement in big power struggles. They fear the Soviets. But let us not abandon hope."

The Soviet bomb tests, while they have had a blackmail effect, nonetheless have disappointed and embarrassed the more Russian-oriented leaders from the African and Asian nations.

"You must understand," said the African delegate previously quoted, "that there are a number of ambitious men here whose maturity does not match their dreams of power. Ghana's Nkrumah is not alone in thinking of himself as the man who is selected by destiny to put together, and lead, a vast Pan-African movement. They can the more quickly attract attention by attacking imperialism, colonialism and U.S. policy. So they do it. We shall have to live through such aberrations."

### Rapid Evolution

The United Nations, like so many things around us, is in a period of rapid evolution. Given time, and an absence of war, it may yet develop into a world force able to deal effectively with aggression and need. There is no question whatever but that its several agencies, working in health, education and technical assistance, have won the respect and confidence of millions. For these the image of the United Nations is genuine, tangible assistance—and not at all the grim power struggle between communism and the West.

The ideological rift between the Chinese and the Russians is a favorite U.N. conversational piece.

Some of the central Europeans at the United Nations, including the Poles, Czechs and Yugoslavs, have commented dryly on the fact that a nuclear war between Russia and the West would kill off millions in each area, the United States, Europe and the U.S.S.R. They mention the long border between the two Communist giants and suggest that it would be millions of Chinese who would move in to replace the millions of dead Russians.

If the Chinese persist in their course of seeking to become the world leader of "pure" Marxist-Leninism, replacing the Kremlin, then the world power struggle will undergo some convulsive reactions.

Despite the joining of hands by the Communists and the frenzied U.S. "right" to destroy the United Nations, it remains worthy of patient support.

**RALPH**

# McGILL

The Atlanta Constitution

## Stevenson: 'No Mere Loudspeakers'

11-2-61

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.—There is some minor-key grumbling in the U.N. press corps about Adlai Stevenson. Chief complaint is that he spreads himself too thin. Almost every cause, each delegate, each commission, wants some of Stevenson's time and name. They seek to add his prestige to their causes.



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In addition, Stevenson, as an urbane and civilized man, has friends with whom he shares a liking for opera, concerts and small dinners. He attends a number of these. The result is that those who attend the myriad U.N. cocktail parties and receptions feel slighted. If one understands there are 100 member nations and they each have a number of social gatherings, the impossibility of being the life of the party two or three times each day is obvious.

The late Dag Hammarskjold never ceased to deplore what he called "diplomacy by loudspeaker." He did not have any enmity toward a free and responsible press. But the U.N. secretary-general strongly criticized the habit of many diplomats of releasing to the newspapers daily summations of their positions and the over-all chart of progress or failure.

### Hammarskjold's View

It was Hammarskjold's view that diplomacy was an art best conducted in private. It was not, he felt, news that on the first day of exchanges sharp words had been said. He felt such a session cleared the air of the static electricity present in any controversy only if they were private. Therefore, he believed that diplomacy required days and days of talk without any of the fierce light of publicity playing upon it.

This is what Adlai Stevenson has sought to do. What is not public property is the many, many private dinners he has had. What is not known is the patient, skillful content of his talks with the Russians and the neutral nations. He has met these not at the United Nations, but in his apartment or in the homes or apartments of others. There has been little publicity concerning them. Most of them, in fact, are unknown. They have been exploratory talks. There has been no day-to-day box score, no summary of runs, hits and errors to excite and irritate.

There is a real possibility that history will write that in the critical weeks following Hammarskjold's death in Africa, it was Stevenson's patient, private work which saved the United Nations from disaster.

The Russians, reportedly, do not like Stevenson. But they do not merely dislike him. They under-

stand that he has a reserve of influence and character which cannot be panicked or flustered. They will listen without walking out.

### *This School*

Stevenson, too, is not agitated, although one may assume he is disgusted with those Americans whose foreign policy and U.N. recommendations may be summed up in the words of this school: "By God," they say, "let's just tell the Russians what we are going to do and ram it through."

The 50-megaton bombs imposed upon diplomacy the need for more talk and greater patience. The small, neutral nations are afraid of the Soviets. They are not afraid of us because they know we will not attempt to subvert their government, we will refrain from disrupting their trade, we will not secretly finance an opposition party, and we will not commit any aggression against them. The Russians will do all these things. This is why the neutrals are so often timid and unwilling to take positions with us.

This is not a time for ramming things through. It is something of a concidence that most of the congressmen and senators, and their constituents, who are of the "By God, ram-it-through school," are states righters in their domestic politics and strongly against the federal government ramming something down their throats.

Anyhow, the U.N. still survives, and Stevenson has assisted it. One is reminded of the time when Robert Hutchins was made president of the University of Chicago. Someone asked him what he thought of Chicago.

"Well," he said, "it's the only one there is."

The U.N. is the only one there is.

RALPH

The Atlanta

# MC GILL

Journal and Constitution

## Chief Assets Of the U.N.

From a U.N. notebook: Americans hostile to the United Nations enjoy playing the game of oversimplification.



They decry the fact that the American taxpayer pays more than half the cost of the U.N. Now and then we meet the more high-pitched, hysterical Birch-Society-mentality which dishonestly describes the U.N. as an expensive boondoggle carried on by eggheads who don't care what it costs.

The truth is the United States receives a large, fat profit from the U.N. In the 15 years the U.N. has been in operation, profits accruing to the U.S. and the city of New York are far in excess of the contributions to it.

The agitation to move the U.N. outside the United States is by no means merely a political one. The nations which would welcome it are quite aware of the profits to be derived from the U.N. presence.

The net United Nations budget for 1961 totals $67,437,700. Of this, at least 60 per cent will be spent in the United States. This income is roughly double the annual U.N. assessment of $22,332,310 on the United States. The average per capita cost of the American citizen is about 12 cents per year. This is just about the cost of a soft drink. It is less than half the price of a package of cigarets. If we add the contributions to the agencies of health, technical assistance and education, the cost to an American is about what one pays to see a good movie.

## Cash Outlay

Apart from the U.N. budget, there is the heavy cash outlay by the 97 member states which maintain year-round missions in New York. (A goodly number also have representatives in Washington.) These engage living quarters in hotels, houses or apartments. They also buy or rent office space. Their personnel purchase gasoline, appliances, electricity, gas, have their cars repaired, buy clothing and food, go to movies and theaters, patronize recreational and travel facilities, consume cigarets, liquor and otherwise participate as consumers.

Those who are aware of the substantial income to the United States estimate that a very conservative appraisal of the cost of maintaining a permanent mission here is $30 per person per day. On this basis, one arrives at a figure of more than $20,000,000 annually as being spent in the consumer economy of the United States.

### *Visitors*

Nor is this all. In 1960, visitors to the U.N. totaled 6,560,197. Just what these spent in travel, hotels, food and entertainment to come to New York is anyone's guess.

There is yet another item. Among the United Nations' annual payments in the United States for equipment, construction, and services, the salary payroll alone totals $25,033,300. We owe it to ourselves to quit thinking narrowly of the cost.

It has other assets, too. Adlai Stevenson said it well in his U.N. Day speech.

"The house," he said, "is crowded; 101 members; every room is full and more are coming. The house is battered. It resounds endlessly with family quarrels. There are cracks in the walls, and inside the cold winds of war and danger and strife in every quarter of the globe rattle the doors and windows. And, as is usual, in such cases, quite a number of the tenants are behind on the rent. But the house is still standing."

And so it is. Its collapse often has seemed imminent. But we must remember that nuclear developments have reduced the alternatives. The U.N., if we avoid war, will evolve into an instrument which will enable this increasingly crowded world to continue an uneasy existence.

It is neither a financial nor a political liability.

RALPH

# MC GILL

The Atlanta Constitution

## Senghor Of Senegal

Washington Notes: President Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal has charmed the General Assembly of the United Nations with his eloquence. At President Kennedy's luncheon guest and at receptions in Washington he has excited admiration for his positive personality, his intelligence and culture. A few months ago he and the people of Senegal made the visit of Vice President and Mrs. Johnson a happy one.



A slight, somewhat ascetic man, President Senghor is generally accepted as Africa's foremost intellectual. He has the intellectual's sophistication, tempered with sensitivity and a poet's imagination.

He was born in October, 1906. His father, a land-owner, had grown prosperous through growing and exporting peanuts. The young Senghor, in a Roman Catholic family, early wanted to be a priest and studied at a seminary in Dakar. His talents, his enthusiasm for books, life and politics, turned him from the priesthood toward secular affairs.

### *Splendid Record*

His diploma was tagged summa cum laude, and because of his unusual scholastic abilities, his professors sent him on to Paris and the Lycee Louis-le-Grand in Paris. There he did splendidly, doing a well received work on Baudelaire's exoticism, and graduating with honors.

During World War II the young Senghor served with French Colonial troops. When France surrendered he was made a prisoner. He organized a resistance group in the camp, was detected, and sent to a labor camp.

Once the war ended he plunged into politics, serving as a deputy for Senegal to the National Assembly as a member of the Socialist party. Despite this affiliation, he was engaged as professor of Negro-African langauges and civilization at the Ecole Nationale d'Administration.

By 1949 the young professor was leading the Senegal independence movement. He and Sekou Toure, of Guinea, worked together cooperatively, but France and Toure split. Senghor finally brought off the Mali Federation in April, 1959, including the republics of Senegal and Sudan. This broke up in 1960 when the Sudan withdrew, and Senghor's dream of building a West African Federation was at least temporarily ended.

Senghor's reputation as a writer is solidly based. His first collection of African poems was published in 1945. Titled "Chants d'Ombre," they had a huge success. In 1948 his anthology of contemporary poetry made him one of the better known figures in the literary gatherings of Paris. Sartre was inspired by Senghor's anthology to do a much discussed essay, "Orphee Noire."

### *Picasso's Friend*

Senghor is, incidentally, a friend of Pablo Picasso's and one of his poems is dedicated to France's most noted artist.

It was perhaps inevitable that such a man would, on heading up a new nation, write Senegal's national anthem. It loses something in translation from French to English, but even so, the African imagery of it is superb:

"We will make your great plan our own,
And protect the chicks from the raids of the kite,
Making of them, from East to West, from North to South,
An upstanding and united people without divisions,
But a people turned to face the winds of all the world. . . ."

Senghor, son of wealthy parents, and an urbane, intellectual man, advocates a socialism which is a product of his political intellectualism. He speaks of it as "democratic socialism" and insists that it must have spiritual values. The United States, he thinks, has some of this socialism in its public school system, its Social Security measures, and its ability to assist needy areas with public money.

A planned economy is, he insists, a necessity in the new nations. The goals must be to raise living and cultural standards. Out of his socialism will come, in good time, the ideal of Federated States—this, at least, is his dream.



**Eugene Patterson**

The Atlanta Constitution

# Somebody Has to Clean Up Mess

Atlanta, Ga.

Thurs. 4-4-61

The Black Muslim movement in Atlanta, like any extremist movement of the white race, wounds reason. Extremists fancy themselves to be the shock troops of change. More accurately, they simply abdicate that balance of thought and responsibility of action which the Lord bestowed as one of man's supreme gifts. Extremists enjoy tantrums; other men have to clean up the mess.

Atlanta's sit-in settlement showed that both races here possess what one liberal called "a little dab of sense" despite the conflict of aims. Extremists of both fought the settlement. Yet the balanced thinkers among the young Negroes realized they had won their point; the same group among the whites recognized reason. The settlement was honored by both sides despite the discontent of extremists in each.

* * *

The Black Muslims cannot prevail in a healthy society because they lack the balance of intellect that reason requires. They may express the wish to oust whites and re-settle Negroes in half a dozen American states. But the whites don't want to move. Neither will they heed the Muslim leader's suggestion that they all go back to Europe, any more than the American Negro will pack up and go to Africa.

The extremist line, nevertheless, is an infection even on the international level. Ghana, Nigeria and other African nations are demanding United Nations action to invoke extreme sanctions against South Africans—to bar their ships from world ports, to cut off communications, to invoke a global economic boycott until and unless the South Africans change their racial views.

The United States properly is refusing to vote in the United Nations for such extremism. It is attempting to understand the problem and to apply remedies that will help, not hurt.

And South Africa has a problem that cannot even be comprehended by the Southern white, who is in the majority. The South African white is a reef in a black sea. The Southern Negro is westernized and increasingly well educated. The South African Negro remains largely tribal. If the South African white—who is a national and therefore has no European homeland to return to—granted political equality to the colored races he would yoke the white into a decided minority status.

* * *

So the South African goverment's remedy is to partition the country, giving the blacks the low country where their race is indigenous. The whites would keep the arid plateau where climate discouraged Bantu settlement in the first place. The trouble with this neat plan is the same trouble confronting the American Black Muslim who wants to force the whites to clear out of some states: the South African black does not want to move. Men will not be pushed around any more in this world. So the world requires more effort than South Africa is making—just as it demands more than the Black Muslims are making in Atlanta.

Everybody is on this spinning ball together, and men can't live on it intelligently if they substitute the simple brutality of extremism for the difficult civilization of balance.



# Smith Tries the Old Racial Spiel

Atlanta Constitution

Rep. Howard W. Smith of Virginia is trying baldly to resurrect racial anxiety in the South in order to defeat federal aid to schools. The school bill may fail unless Georgians hold firmly to the facts and hold their congressmen likewise.

Reps. James J. Delaney of New York and Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts already have the bill bottlenecked in the Rules Committee. They are trying to hold it off the House floor unless the committee approves a bill to provide federal construction loans to parochial schools. President Kennedy, a Catholic, stands firmly against state aid to church schools.

* * *

Rep. Smith's effort to scare the South, and the Delaney-O'Neill effort to gain advantage for parochial schools, can combine to defeat a bill of major importance to the nation's children and of crucial importance to Georgia's. But if Georgia holds firm as the Southern anchor of reason on this issue, the bill can carry.

Rep. Smith has told more than 100 southern newspapers that federal grants would be withheld from schools which are not racially integrated. The Kennedy administration has repeatedly declared this is not true. If Rep. Smith doubts the government's word, that is his right. But it also is the people's duty to decide for themselves. And Georgians won't be flimflammed on this issue by the old racial spiel.

The fact here is that Georgia schools need improving in order to give Georgia children a better break in the national life. The state has spent itself to the brink of a tax increase trying to improve its schools. Many counties can do more but haven't done it. Meanwhile the damage is done to the children.

And the question is whether Georgia's people can any longer afford to weight down their children's future with the millstones of old doubts. Many persons who "just vote no" on any question of new federal help should measure this school bill carefully against the kind of federal spending already being done.

* * *

The Senate Appropriations Committee has recently recommended $275 million for farm operating loans; $40 million for farm ownership loans; $245 million for rural electrification; $250 million for agricultural conservation; $60 million for school lunches including Georgia poultry; $12 million for poultry inspection—all in federal dollars. It even provides for $250,000 to study air-sac diseases in poultry and launches a study of the need for federal aid to eradicate hog cholera.

Few Georgians object to needed federal programs to assist the farmer, to conserve his land, to light his home and to treat his chickens and his hogs.

What can be objectionable about a program to educate his children?



**Eugene Patterson**

P-t The Atlanta Constitution

# A Note on the Morning After

Thurs. 9-14-61

All of the candidates had some good in them, and that part should live after this campaign. The bitterness ought to be thrown away with the campaign signs.

Jim Aldredge ran his race like a gentleman. He presented himself to the public as being precisely what he is—an honest, earnest, able man who is innately good. It is to his lasting credit that he lost some votes because his continuing service in steadying the county commission became doubly important with the death of the respected Commissioner Carlyle Fraser.

* * *

Charlie Brown has served and sought for a very long time. Disappointments down the years did not deter him from seeking his goal, the mayor's office, again. Then he found himself in a punishing competition with some comparative newcomers who reached for a prize he had dedicated much of his political life to seeking. Still he did not strike out in bitterness, but doggedly held to his stance of conciliation.

Ivan Allen Jr. bore the barbs of some social set acquaintances because he went before Atlanta's humblest, and he endured slings of others because he also moved among the highest, but he went his own way, regarding all men with respect, and he was nobler than his detractors. Political doubters wondered if he were a fancy dan who would fold under the first heavy punch from the oldtime campaigners. But they saw him get up each time he was knocked down. They know now he can fight.

Muggsy Smith started behind and he had to slug. He did. The passionate combativeness of the man is most often flung on the side of right, though, and it is a powerful force. Fighters for the right things show up best against odds. And Muggsy does not figure the odds before choosing his side.

* * *

Lester Maddox campaigned on a basis in which we deeply disbelieve. But he proved to be an effective campaigner, deft in the ways of human nature. By progressively tempering the expression of his beliefs he spared the city damage it might have suffered.

So the primary is ended.

But this piece can't end without a word of admiration for the wives of these men, who have played their anxious parts with a uniform grace, and who have had to brace themselves for all of these weeks for this day when they must quell the conqueror or comfort the defeated with an equal steadiness, no matter what hurt or happiness they may feel in themselves.

At the end of the long and tiring campaign, these women give divided Atlantans an example of how to take what has come and how to turn to the future without bitterness, together.



**Eugene Patterson**

# Too Dull To Be Medicine Show

The Atlanta Constitution

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—To hear the Negro choir of Tennessee's A. & I. University sing hymns was worth the trip here. But it was the best thing on the program of the White House Regional Conference.

The bureaucrats who were sent out from Washington to coach the citizenry on President Kennedy's programs did not seem to be very interested. And neither was the audience, which appeared to be composed principally of provincial bureaucrats, social workers and special interest groups. Sat. 11-11-61

The whole thing was as noble in conception, and almost as dull, as the White House conferences which President Eisenhower used to convene in the dreary ballrooms of Washington hotels.

At least Kennedy moved the meetings out of the federal capital and got them nearer to the grassroots, enabling more Americans to be bored. Republicans jibed, of course, that this was a political medicine show. But it wasn't that good.

P 4

* * *

The panelists—second and third rank government functionaries—simply went through the motions without seeming to have any clear notion of why they were here. The town meeting touch eludes the Potomac set. Atlanta, Ga.

How they happened to choose Nashville as the site of the Southern meeting was interesting in itself. Gov. Buford Ellington and Mayor Ben West are strong Democrats, of course. But Topic A—desegregation—was worked out here.

The meetings themselves posed no problem. They were held in the splendid War Memorial Auditorium and the House and Senate chambers of the neighboring state capitol.

But careful advance planning was necessary to assure that the headquarters hotel and other housing facilities were not going to raise a color bar that would embarrass city, state and federal governments alike. The matter was settled quietly and handled as smoothly as Atlanta managed the same problem when Secretary of State Rusk spoke there. But the fact that Nashville, not Atlanta, was chosen as the Southern capital for this meeting indicates a need for Atlanta not to sit by and let the hotel issue put a brake on its regional leadership.

* * *

The panels were still droning Friday about "Mobilizing Local Initiative," "Safeguarding Against Distress," and "Better Opportunities for Living in Later Years." But the participants, nodding in their straight chairs and waiting vainly for the speakers to decide why they were here, did not seem likely to rush home and start any groundswells. The Republicans can relax.

Peabody College President Felix C. Robb keynoted the meeting when he got his tongue twisted while trying to summarize the sequence of Thursday's panel discussions concerning senior citizens. "The aging took place today," he announced gravely.



**Eugene Patterson**

# Bludgeons Into Building Blocks

The Atlanta Constitution

A seventh grader is big enough to play basketball. But not a single elementary school in Atlanta has a gymnasium. School Superintendent John Letson says the children need gyms. A couple of good ideas are taking shape for getting them. Sat J 2-9-61 P 4

First, some horse sense on civil defense arrived in Atlanta this week. Paul Visher, the No. 2 man in the federal civil defense agency, brought it. Atlanta, Ga.

He disclosed that the government probably will make subsidies available next year to help build fallout shelters in schools.

But Mr. Visher emphasized the new program is not going to pour federal millions into mere holes in the ground. The very heart of the program will be a requirement that school shelters have a dual purpose, he said.

* * *

For Atlanta's elementary schools, this ought to mean gymnasium-shelters.

Just as national defense needs are bringing the useful interstate highways into being, so the melancholy needs of civil defense can bring their mixed blessing to the schools.

(Historians in some benign future day will examine with wonder this generation's persistence at turning the overhanging bludgeons of threatened war into building blocks of hope from day to day.)

Another idea comes to Atlanta from Flint, Mich. Each school in Flint has a "school director," a teacher who stays until 10 p.m. and keeps the building open.

Instead of letting the buildings lie dark and empty after school hours, Flint uses them as community centers. Children skate in the gyms. Housewives' clubs meet to exercise. Adult education classes occupy the school rooms.

Use of the schools as community centers cuts the need for citizens to provide expensive and duplicating club houses for an expanding population. Flint simply turned back to what it already had—the school plant—and began using it.

* * *

Not the least of the plan's virtues is a return to the old-fashioned use of the school house as a gathering place for neighbors and a stabilizer of the community.

An Atlanta group of school and foundation people has visited Flint and come back impressed. With some foundation and other money they would like to build a school gym soon in an Atlanta neighborhood that needs a recreation center, and see how the pilot model works. It ought to work very well in Atlanta. Certainly we've spent enough on duplicating buildings.

If the expensive threat of war brings gymnasiums to Atlanta elementary schools, while the need to economize creates their community use, we will have put one more building block of hope in place.



**Eugene Patterson**

# All Are Custodians Of Anticommunism

The Atlanta Constitution

P 4

Education for Freedom Inc. is a local organization with the announced and commendable intention to reclaim the presentation of communism and its aims from erratic groups which have confused the subject with partisan domestic politics or personal preferences of policy. Mon J 2-6-61

It seeks to counsel Atlanta and Fulton County schools on dependable courses of study for our children in the ideological field.

We therefore assume the organization's president wrote the letter published elsewhere on this page as an individual and not as a spokesman for the organization's beliefs as to what represents undisputed anticommunism. Atlanta, Ga.

For, obviously, the propriety or impropriety of President Kennedy's remarks to Izvestia, and the excellence or imperfection of Mr. McGill's comments, are fairly subject to political denunciation, public debate, personal reservation, general argument or condemnation by letter-to-the-editor.

All of which, as we are sure Mr. Richardson knows, has nothing whatsoever to do with nonpartisan presentation of anticommunism.

Mr. Kennedy and Mr. McGill are as open to question on the wisdom of their anticommunist methods as Mr. Richardson is, but the anticommunism of all three is beyond question.

The President and the publisher do not represent themselves as nonpartisan. They wear their badges plainly. They do not profess simply to state the nature of the threat; they advocate in the public arena their convictions on best methods to meet it. They expect controversy and disagreement to ensue from that. They speak to the guns of their adversaries; they do not claim to instruct neutral seminars.

Disagreement over method is the essence of American politics and the basis upon which partisan organizations always have built, and always should build, ramparts of differing conviction from which each strives to bring other Americans to his own view of the wisest course.

May there always be this free and partisan combat between differing wings of American thought (although in foreign affairs, I personally most often agree with President Eisenhower's comment that "The President alone has the constitutional responsibility for the conduct of foreign affairs; therefore, the unity that is indispensable to maximum strength can be achieved only by supporting, in critical circumstances, the measures that he may project").

* * *

May there always be freedom to express contending ideas on how best to confound the common enemy, with contenders proudly labeled as advocates, not mislabeling themselves as jurymen.

And if they set out to teach simply the nature of the threat, which is a fact of history and can be taught in school, but slide over into disputed methods advanced to combat it, may they at least state the ideas as contenders, not custodians, if they are going to profess to be, not advocates of methods in the political arena, but teachers of fact in the schools.

31a 1961

**Eugene Patterson**



# America Can Counter Socialism

"I guess it'll be one of them blue Christmases," Mrs. Ervin McAllister said. She and her husband made a living for their three boys by working in the Peerless Woolen Mill at Rossville, Ga. They are losing their jobs along with the mill's other 1,748 workers. The owners are liquidating the mill. The Chattanooga labor market offers few of the workers new jobs.

Let anybody who is satisfied to choose up sides between management and labor do so now and read no further.

Let him sympathize, if he prefers, with the owners who reported losses of $4.3 million last year; let him defend their shutdown as plain economic necessity; and let him further demand to know how workers can think they even have a right to hold jobs, much less improve their pay, in such a hard-put mill.

Or let him sympathize only with the workers, if he wishes, noting they have served the mill's machines for three generations; let him defend their right to hope the work of their hands might someday earn more than minimum bread for their children's plates; let him demand to know why they should go on living in subservience to an operation so marginal that they dare not question what is meted out to them for fear of losing everything they have.

But a chill remnant of fact must be taken up after the convinced have withdrawn comfortably to warm their one sides by their own heat; regardless of the owners' rights, or the workers' rights, a dismantled mill and 1,750 laid-off workers are inconvenient residues.

Obviously owners cannot long operate a sick mill at a loss. Obviously workers cannot long live strapped to the rack of hopelessness. Obviously neither would have it that way if they could help it. But the inconvenient residue of those truths will no longer vanish as the ashes of a frontier campfire drifted away when the wagons moved on to virgin lands and unhunted forests.

People now are mashed together in urban clusters. They are drawn as individuals from the land to work at jobs (or lose jobs) in masses, only to find that machines are taking over many of those jobs and turning back the poorest and least skilled into barren streets, not virgin forests filled with game.

The old invisible hand that was supposed to regulate these things in the 19th century's manageable marketplace proved too small to grasp all of the complexities of automation and the urban industrial mass. Resultant calamity bred socialism in many lands that lacked the means—or the wisdom—to replace lost hopes with new opportunities. They found that a system must serve the people, and if the people suffer, the system suffers.

America, blessed with means, has acted with wisdom through its democratic government to prevent socialism; it has made a bridge between Rossville shutdowns and new opportunities.

* * *

Government unemployment compensation is keeping a little bread on the plates while the laid-off workers hunt jobs. Government-negotiated import quotas, tax breaks and other aids under consideration for the textile industry seek to ease its illness.

But these steps are now becoming more palliative than cure as changing competition batters down whole industries and job-robbing automation swells unemployment toward 7 per cent in the midst of plenty. These harsh new factors are accelerating explosively. They require vigorous new bridging to keep Americans connected to the new opportunities that still abound, and so secure us against socialism. Individual effort still is paramount, of course.

But failing industries must be given government incentives to modernize or change over to something better. So must jobless workers get not just the present dole from the government, but mass retraining and job placement in new opportunities. These programs are as necessary as they are difficult.

They will not come soon enough to prevent a blue Christmas at Rossville. But Rossville's calamity shows steps that are needed to help the free enterprise system remain free.

# Editor Patterson Speaks At Hungry Club Wednesday

Eugene Patterson, editor of the Atlanta Constitution will address Wednesday's session of the Hungry Club to be held in the Banquet Room of the Butler Street YMCA at 12:15.

Mr. Patterson is a native Georgian. He attended North Georgia College at Dahlonega, Ga., and received his journalism degree at the University of Georgia. He was awarded the Silver Star for Gallantry in Action and the Bronze Star with Oak Leaf for heroic achievement during his five years' service in the army. He also took flight training and won his wings as an Army Liaison pilot.

Patterson has served as editor of the Atlanta Constitution since June 1.

William A. Fowlkes, managaing editor of the Atlanta Daily World will moderate Wednesday's session.

WHITE (EUGENE PATTERSON)

DEC.
EUGENE PATTERSON HAS SERVED AS EDITOR OF THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION SINCE JUNE 1, 1961
Atlanta Daily World Sun. 12-3-61

31a 1961

WHITE (EUGENE PATTERSON)



**Eugene Patterson**

# Let the Means of Force Now Die

The Atlanta Constitution

Georgia has faced its moment of truth on desegregation and the sky has not fallen down. There is even a sense of relief in it. Parents know now that their children will have schools. The people know that their leaders are responsible men. The nation knows that Georgia is worthy. P.4 Thurs. 1-12-61

Thousands of university students showed good breeding under stress. The few who felt no shame in dogging and goading two less comfortable beings did, of course, provide photographs which displayed their bullying across the country. Some of them even made page one of The New York Times, with their mouths open. But the insensitive few did not dominate the campus. The body of the students behaved with grace.

Atlanta, Ga.

A nation appalled by the performances of Faubus in Arkansas and Davis in Louisiana discovered Vandiver of Georgia to be a Southern governor who obeys the law and puts the education of the young ahead of an old politics when its wears out. The blood-thirsty liberal may deny him credit, but history won't.

The people of the state found their legislature suffering their own torn emotions but also manifesting their own traditional maturity when tested. Louisiana's people did not receive such respect from their legislature.

And in the hours of crisis, when men had to stand forward for Georgia or stand back in trembling, two leaders in particular stood firmly, regardless of political risk, to do what had to be done to preserve education. They were Sen. Carl Sanders of Augusta and Rep. Frank Twitty of Camilla. Let the voters of the state mark this by their names: They had guts when it took guts to have guts. Other men in the present leadership may try to take the peace-time bows, but these men, and Vandiver, faced the combat. For a few tense hours they were the custodians of Georgia's good name, and of a good part of her future.

* * *

While the state had the leadership, and her people had the character, to meet the crisis, Georgia also had the good fortune to have time—time to think, to prepare, to observe and to learn from the errors of other states. The time was not used well; but the learning was. This knowledge of the facts, coupled with leadership and character in the people, caused the inevitable to be met with dignity.

And the sky has not fallen down. My mind goes back two years to a conversation with the president of a Negro college in Atlanta. "If Georgia's colleges were desegregated tomorrow," he said, "I do not think more than a handful of my students would transfer to the white schools. But when you tell us we are barred by law from going to those schools, we will not rest until that law is taken from the books. We do not want to be forced to a course of action any more than you do."



**Eugene Patterson**

The Atlanta Constitution

# Ernie Did Not Duck or Dodge

Atlanta, Ga.

Gov. Ernest Vandiver's midnight rise to the heights of political courage will be a mark of excellence in the history of his governorship. When his legal means for delaying desegregation of the University of Georgia ran out Monday, he did not duck or dodge any longer.

He said, "I will not be a party to defiance of law."

Turning to the Legislature, he said, repeal the fund cut-off, so the university can be reopened.

* * *

A later court ruling set it aside before the Legislature could act as Vandiver asked. Wed. 1-11-61

He could have done what some other Southern governors have done. He could have defied the law, appealed to the public passions, and crippled the university as well as the state's good name—for no possible gain and no good reason other than his own vanity and political fear. Gov. Vandiver shunned that course.

He did not try to dump the problem on the Legislature while he hid in the bushes. P. 4

The governor's forthright expressions on the university crisis must be applied also to the coming September crisis in the public schools.

He noted that the 1956 law which tried to force segregation in the university turned into a "roadblock." The very presence of this segregation law on the books "strips us of remaining safeguards and would cause chaos and confusion without any effective results whatsoever."

He said that developments since 1956 turned the segregation law "from a source of hope to an albatross; indeed, events have given it the diametrically opposite effect from which it was intended by the Legislature."

This is true not only of the 1956 segregation law relating to the university.

It is true of the existing segregation laws relating to the public schools.

* * *

Unless the present Legislature replaces those laws now with valid ones along the lines recommended by the Sibley Commission, they too will turn into roadblocks and albatrosses, and will have effect diametrically opposed to the one intended.

In the university case, Judge Bootle used the law itself as Exhibit A to prove that university officials had acted in bad faith. The law forbade them to act in good faith, he said. The segregation law hastened overturn of segregation at the university and threatened to close it.

This also will be true of the public school system later this year unless the Legislature acts now to remove the albatross from the neck of the state, and to enact control laws that face the future.



**Eugene Patterson**

The Atlanta Constitution

# When Men Mob A Women's Hall...

Atlanta, Ga.

What occurred in Athens Wednesday night was a failure of law enforcement involving your daughters. A dormitory full of young women could not be protected from a mob. The result was not a repulse of the mob as it broke windows in the bedrooms of young Georgia women. The result was surrender to the wishes of the mob, through suspension of the two students the mob set out to run off.

The university suspended the wrong students. P. 4

But the deans and the president of the university do not bear the blame. They and the Athens police were the only people who tried to stand between the mob and the daughters of Georgians. They appealed for state troopers. None came in time. The mob defeated the brave deans. They had to surrender to the mob's wishes and remove the girl whose removal the mob had demanded. They had to do it to spare the other girls who were in danger as well as the one who drew its wrath. They need not have surrendered if the state had sent the troopers needed for protection. The state did not respond when asked. Fri. 1-13-61

Gov. Ernest Vandiver has said, "I will not be a party to defiance of the law." As conservator of the peace, his duty is to enforce the law against those who defy it. Yet the peace was conserved Wednesday night by surrender to those who defied the law. The mob, which included grown men, had its way by overpowering the conservator of the peace and endangering your daughters behind splintering glass.

It was a heart-sickening breakdown of law enforcement on the part of the state. Why? We cannot believe Gov. Vandiver intentionally meant to leave these young women unguarded. To the shame of Georgia, they were left so. We cannot believe Gov. Vandiver will permit this ever again. Shame to Georgia is already done. Only a manful enforcement of the law in the future can redeem us now.

Are Georgians content to see their youth led, their university officials bullied, their legislature bedeviled, and their children's future fouled by that small, mean man, Roy Harris, and the other physical grownups who tell adolescents it is noble to mob a building full of women?

* * *

Is Peter Zack Geer speaking for Georgia when he says out of one side of his mouth that he deplores violence and out of the other praises the "character and courage" of that mob?

We do not believe it. We do not believe the governor will let this happen again. We do not believe the responsible legislature now sitting will put up with it. We do believe the people of Georgia will back them not only in keeping the university open, but in keeping its female dormitories safe forever after from the rocks of an unchecked mob. Segregation, integration or usurpation aside, God help Georgia if we try to justify what happened Wednesday night.



## Eugene Patterson

# Ernest Vandiver Faces the Truth

Twice in his speech Gov. Ernest Vandiver sent up "a divine prayer to the great God above" to guide Georgia now. A deep anguish must have been upon his spirit as he rose to speak.

The joint session was attentive to him, but very cold. Even his promise of $100 million in road spending drew no applause. And as he talked on in the emptiness of the great chamber, his slender, sensitive fingers, which once handled bomber controls, gripped the lectern, and perspiration beaded on his lip. He had a new haircut.

His wife, Betty, gazed at him with great dignity, whispering occasionally to a bland Lt. Gov. Garland Byrd, seated beside her. Byrd's wife, Gloria, balanced herself nearby in a broken-backed chair that kept swaying backward. Hidden behind the flag, House Speaker George Smith frequently led what applause there was.

* * *

It was a somber session. The House and Senate had assembled to hear the governor's guidance on whether to close the University of Georgia or keep it open. There was no sentiment out loud for closing it. The governor was able to dodge a stand now because litigation had provided at least a short delay. This did not last throughout the day. For the time being he simply withheld his appropriations message, which will hold the secret of whether funds are to be cut off. That one remained a hangfire.

On public schools, he proposed the expected "child protection" amendment, which was a part of the Sibley report. But that was all, and of course inadequate. It was conceived as an effort at further delay. (An amendment cannot be voted on until 1962, and Atlanta schools are supposed to desegregate next September.) While the effort at delay was understandable, Vandiver proposed no further action to guard the school children now.

* * *

He simply narrowed the field of action to "legal means" and "effective alternatives." Forced segregation is not legal. Closed schools are not effective alternatives. Therefore it was time to turn this statement around, and Ernest Vandiver did so.

"We cannot abandon public education," he said at last.

And in those fateful words he faced the truth, as every legislative leader including Byrd, Smith, Sen. Carl Sanders and House leader Frank Twitty had already done. But Vandiver gave no further guidance. Feeling committed to the end by his campaign promises of "never," he simply stated the result he foresees—"we cannot abandon public education." Then he conceded we must "provide a new plate of armor." But he left it there.

Who will provide this new plate of armor? If the executive does not, the legislature can. Gov. Vandiver, a good governor who considers himself trapped, appears to have given the green light to his legislative leadership to act.



## Eugene Patterson

# Georgia, As Others See Us

The New Yorker, one of the magazines most widely read among Americans of wealth and/or intellect, occasionally prints conflicting reports from other publications and makes deadpan inquiry as to which version you read. Last week it subjected itself to nomination, with the help of a few disorderly Georgians.

Describing the conduct of University of Georgia students during the desegregation days as an exhibition of "the full depth and breadth of Southern intellectual attainments," the magazine said:

* * *

"There was, to begin with, the little band of scholars who, on hearing that the new students were in the office of the registrar, rushed into the corridor screaming, "Two, four, six, eight! We don't want to integrate!" . . . The following evening was devoted to field work in the Southern social sciences. Five or six hundred students gathered outside the dormitory occupied by one of the new arrivals, Charlayne Hunter, to ascertain whether such a mob, armed with stones, fertile in obscenity, and untouched by any sense of the fundamental human decencies, had the power to frighten one girl."

There was more, but that's enough. The article damaged Georgia in influential eyes. The blame for the damage rests on those Georgians whose unacceptable conduct invited it. It is not borne by The New Yorker for reporting and commenting on what happened. The blame The New Yorker does bear results from its failure to report what else happened. The Milwaukee Journal did so, and we can only ask America which version it read.

"Much has been said about the 'shame of Georgia' in connection with the riots," The Milwaukee Journal commented. "But there is a bright side too.

"More than half of the university faculty signed a protest against the temporary suspension of the Negroes. Even Gov. Vandiver deserves praise. He still opposes integration. Yet he says now that 'we cannot abandon public education.' He promises to call out state troops to keep peace in Athens should rioting again break out. Then there are the majority of the university students who took no part in protests.

"There are good people in Georgia. In the end their attitudes must prevail."

* * *

Much as the one riot damaged Georgia, the state's people and their elected representatives have properly devoted their attention to finding an honorable course here before striking back at critics elsewhere—to rectify, not justify, a vulnerable position. This is the right course. What others say in the meantime is secondary to what we do.

What Georgia, unique in the Deep South, is now doing is right. And the perceptive Milwaukee Journal saw early what The New Yorker and the nation will discover—that the attitudes which will prevail in Georgia are those of a good and honorable people who are touched, more deeply than some of their easy critics perceive, by the fundamental human decencies.

# Patterson Speaks To Hungry Club Today

Mr. Eugene Patterson, editor of the Atlanta Constitution will address today's Hungry Club session to be held in the Banquet Room of the Butler Street YMCA at 12:15.

Patterson has served in his present position since June 1, 1960. The Hungry Club sessions are open to the public. Reservations should be made by phoning JA 4-0246.

Radio Station WERD will broadcast the first 15 minutes of the speaker's address beginning at 12:45.

William A. Fowlkes, chairman of the Hungry Club Committee will moderate today's session.

31a 1961

WHITE (EUGENE PATTERSON)

# Battlefront: Atlanta

A political report from Atlanta reprinted on this page today from *The Atlanta Constitution's* editor Eugene Patterson is of interest.

Mr. Patterson's summary seems to show well enough, if it weren't known before, how his newspaper is standing on the coming mayor's election to replace the indefatigable, yet retiring, Mayor Bill Hartsfield.

*The Constitution* clearly will see in Muggsy Smith the man to be beaten, if guessing is any good at all. But in Ivan Allen, resigned Chamber of Commerce president, may be seen the probable *Constitution* favorite.

Indeed there has been, since it began to be bandied about seriously that Hartsfield was stepping down, strong evidence that Allen was handpicked by an Atlanta coterie of up-looking paternal city leaders to notch the Georgia city still more positively into the "New Look."

Hartsfield did much for his group. But Allen, being younger, etc., might do even more. On June 7 Editor Patterson wrote of Allen that he is "an intense and earnest patrician who, like modern Democrats from Roosevelt to Kennedy, regarded his inheritance not as a license to exploit but a mandate to serve. He has volunteered for the hardest of civic jobs and goes into politics with a fresh, driving conviction in the destiny of Atlanta."

The spirit which moves the Atlanta papers, and their backup corps of Atlanta's-differenters, could live with legislator Muggsy Smith, and doubtless even if in sad disappointment with Candidates Brown or Aldredge. But it is Allen who is in unalloyed armor and has the brilliant plume in his helmet.

The election as it moves toward Sept. 13 should grow hotter and quite intricate. Birmingham, a mayor's race under the belt, ought to follow the Georgia campaign with interest. A good deal is involved—such as a school integration crisis upcoming, the patina which Atlanta will be able further to draw over it as "the" city of the South, etc.



***Eugene Patterson***

## Atlanta Politics Is Being Recast

The beaching of Mayor William B. Hartsfield has churned up powerful currents in the still stream of Atlanta politics. The depth and direction of the new stream bed reaches far beyond the race for the mayor's own seat. It goes deep into the Board of Aldermen and the Board of Education.

Incumbents who have long been comfortable in aldermanic seats find they are opposed. Youth versus age is suddenly an issue. Some of the longtime aldermen are better men than their challengers. Some are not.

* * *

Old issues are coming home to roost. Mayor Pro Tem Lee Evans, for instance, months ago cast the vote that barred public housing from the old Egleston Hospital site. But that vote cost him dearly in past support. Many people thought it left Evans vulnerable; they have tried to persuade Muggsy Smith to get out of the mayor's race on grounds he would only split Ivan Allen's vote and to get him into the race for Evans' job, which he could hold while continuing as a state representative.

But Smith said he meant to run for mayor, win or lose. So young Sam Massell is plunging in to take on the veteran Evans.

On this last day for candidates to announce, it seems certain that Jimmy Vickers, white incumbent alderman for the predominantly Negro 3rd Ward, will be challenged by a Negro. The 3rd has long been shopping among its best Negroes for a candidate. The respected A. T. Walden intended to run. But his health was troubling him, and Q. V. Williamson was brought forward. The Negro educator, Dr. Rufus Clement, is running to succeed himself on the school board.

* * *

One of incumbent Wayne Blanchard's young challengers in the 6th Ward, Richard Freeman, is a Republican. And here is yet another force at work. Another Republican, Rodney Cook, seeks the Jesse Draper vacancy in the 8th Ward. And Republican Dan McIntyre has announced for the Board of Education from the 8th. Although this city primary is not a party primary, the GOP seems suddenly awake to the need to groom and launch some bright young men into meaningful politics on the local level instead of waiting for the presidential gesture every four years.

Seats on the Board of Education are being hotly contested without much sign of the onetime Jarrell-Latimer factionalism. Man-to-man combat will decide the board's new composition.

The Atlanta voter, with one week only left for registration, is going to face a crucial test of judgment on Sept. 13.



***Eugene Patterson***

## A School Day And a Rocket

It was a deeply moving day. It was a flash of impressions, a collision of emotions—a drama both somber and exalted, intensely alive. First, in the dewy morning, Northside High.

Reporters stood unobtrusively as requested across the street. Policemen who had come to assure order at the moment of desegregation found themselves instead perspiring at the prosaic task of untangling traffic. As parents in the scores of creeping cars delivered their young to the future's keeping, the faces of the youngsters branded the mind.

Unafraid, interested, with clear eyes lively and eager, they walked firmly up the hill and into the schoolhouse door. There was something so noble in the manner of these undoubting young people, walking confidently through a door that so many of their fathers and mothers had endured inner anguish to hold open for them, that a surge of pride and admiration brought a sting to the eye.

* * *

Then the press center at City Hall. Superintendent Letson spoke strongly into a battery of telephones, hiding nothing from the people, directing the Atlanta school system openly and with confidence. The calm, drawling responses of the principals came through amplifiers for all to hear. ("It's more normal than usual here," said one.) These voices from the school halls suddenly brought home, with great impact, the care and courage that goes into the daily safekeeping of Atlanta's children at school.

The press center installation itself astonished, impressed, and occasionally amused the visiting reporter. Some veterans of New Orleans and Little Rock couldn't quite believe Atlanta would do this thing in the open. They kept searching for hidden motives. They found it anomalous that Atlanta could face such a tense test with free disclosure. One reporter with whom I once covered events in Europe observed, "We never saw a summit conference set up this well."

But slowly the full implication dawned on these visitors, and impressed them: What they were seeing was what they saw at Cape Canaveral when the United States launched Commander Alan Shepard into space.

* * *

There was no guarantee the rocket would lift. There was possibility of failure, and therefore great tension. But the preparation, the planning, the deep confidence in the ability of the mechanism to succeed, and above all the trust in the man to perform bravely and well, inspired the government to say to the world, "Come and watch and see: If we fail, you will know we tried. If we succeed, share our pride. This is the confidence of a free country."

The rocket fired. The heart of mankind rode high with Shepard. That bold, unhidden shot truly was heard round the world.

Atlanta had no less confidence. And now they have shown the world the worth of a great people.



## Eugene Patterson

# South Sticks With the Union

At Nashville, Tennessee, on Monday the people of the South saw something unusual and fine. They saw the governors of the Southern states step out of the shackles of the past and turn their strength to the national good.

Conferences of the Southern governors were, for a long time, kettles for the bitter brew of hostility toward the national government.

But moderating influences have operated increasingly in recent years. And on Monday, when President Kennedy rose to speak for the nation against Khrushchev's warmongering, the governors of the South rose with him.

Gov. Buford Ellington of Tennessee set the tone of the conference. He said, "The states must now join the federal government in taking the initiative in reaching those discussions that control the future of the world."

The governors paused in their conference to listen to the Kennedy speech. Then they congratulated him and pledged their backing in these grave days.

This was a demonstration of true state sovereignty—sub-governments of the Union pledging their support to the destiny of the national community.

Racial recrimination was notably absent. The governors talked more of civil defense for their people.

* * *

Even Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi was subdued on racial matters. His effort to band the other governors into a regional confederacy in his image has not gone well. And he has undergone a certain embarrassment back home in Jackson where it was discovered that a $10,000 bathroom with gold-plated fixtures has been installed in the governor's mansion.

In the past it sometimes seemed that Southern governors had reached that state which a writer applied to the abolitionist Charles Sumner—"His mind had reached the calm water which receives and reflects images without absorbing them—it contained nothing but itself."

But the first day of the meeting at Nashville showed both the depth and the growth of the Southern mind while reflecting, as always, the courage and resolve of the Southern heart.



## Eugene Patterson

# One Kind Word For the Candidate

A couple of weeks ago Jim Aldredge, candidate for mayor, was shocked to see that somebody had placed an "Elect Aldredge" sign in the front yard of Charlie Brown, one of his opponents.

Aldredge hurriedly tried to telephone Brown to apologize and assure Brown he disapproved of such tactics on the part of signboard vandals, even if they were his supporters.

Before Aldredge got through to Brown, however, he discovered a sign had been placed in his own front yard during the night.

The sign in the Aldredge yard urged passersby to vote for Charlie Brown.

So both candidates had a good laugh and swapped the signs.

* * *

It was one of the few light moments in this tense political tussle that is pitting men, most of them good and some of them bad, against each other for public prize.

What makes them do it? What drive in a man compels him to offer his talents to public service when the offer subjects him to the grinding demands of political campaigning?

Defeat is bitter. Yet more lose than win. Still the candidates expose themselves to it.

And alongside the risk of public defeat comes the companion ordeal of physical exhaustion and relentless exhibition of their shortcomings. And financial loss.

Television alone is ordeal enough. The white light beats down, the red eye of the camera clicks on, and the dry-mouthed candidate smiles from the screen, nailed en brochette to the thread of self-doubt and inadequacy that pulls tight within us all when we're on-stage.

The press listens daily for damning quotations. Opponents pry and prod cruelly for weaknesses while audiences wait coldly to see a hurt man flinch.

Yet in this cockpit no flinching is allowed. Those who enter must fight, often savagely—and most often in the face of defeat.

* * *

What makes them do it? It is more than a drive for power. It is generally more altruistic than a search for venal gain. John F. Kennedy once wrote that a true politician must be driven by a love of self—and he meant it in its ultimate and respectable context, not selfishness but self-respect.

Surely defeat hurts most in the spirit of a man possessing the highest self-respect. Many of the good candidates in the current city races will be hurt by the voters' choices. Many voters themselves sense the ruthlessness of the requirement to choose between such men.

Still the candidates run, giving us that choice we expect in a democracy. It's a common thing to knock all politicians for the sins of the sorry few. This is just a note to suggest the good ones are pretty courageous men.



## Eugene Patterson

# Yes, Daniel Was Removed Legally

T. Emory Daniel Jr. has been forced to resign as an assistant prosecutor in DeKalb County because he joined the Georgia Council on Human Relations. The council is a respected and non-militant organization which seeks to temper racial conflicts by consultation and reason instead of standing by and waiting for disputes to break in a storm of agitation, discord or violence.

Did the solicitor act legally and properly when he went for advice to the judges who sit in judgment on his cases, and then acted with their advice to remove his assistant?

Yes, he did. The law says assistant solicitors of that circuit are to be hired or fired by the solicitor acting only with the advice and approval of the judges.

But did they have the legal right to force Mr. Daniel's resignation without even making any formal accusation against him?

Yes. The law says an assistant solicitor can be removed by the judges and the solicitor for "sufficient cause," and that which constitutes sufficient cause is "to be adjudged by them."

Do solicitors and their assistants normally avoid personal connections with highly controversial causes?

Yes, that is a custom, because such connections are thought to impair their capacity to prosecute cases before juries.

The question on Mr. Daniel's removal is not a legal one, therefore but is rather a question of whether membership in the mild and moderate Council on Human Relations involved him in a controversial subject sufficient to impair his effectiveness in a court of DeKalb County.

The fact that it was so adjudged is a shockingly poor commentary on our sense of fairness and our willingness to tolerate reasonable dissent in the South.

We have not heard of membership in a White Citizens Council being adjudged controversial enough to cause removal of a prosecutor in the region.

The chief prosecutor of this state, the attorney general, has long been identified with the most partisan wings of racial opinion.

Are we, as Southerners, to call ourselves fair if we apply the sanctions of job loss to one man's personal opinions and grant immunity to another's?

Is our faith in a man's freedom of thought so weak that we, as jurors, cannot bring in a verdict in accord with the facts and the law unless the prosecutor who presents them agrees with our politics and our prejudices?

* * *

Mr. Daniel was not connected with anything so controversial as the John Birch Society or the Communist Party—or even the White Citizens Council or the Congress for Racial Equality.

The Council on Human Relations which he joined counts among its members some of the outstanding citizens of metropolitan Atlanta, drawn from both political parties and from all points on the segregation spectrum ranging from go-slow to liberal. Its principal aim is to provide a responsible channel of communication between the races so that differences which can be negotiated in peace are not shut off to explode in the streets.

That we are adjudged not yet ready in the South to tolerate such an approach to the future is a development that requires us to examine our own values more deeply than we examine those of T. Emory Daniel Jr. All he has lost is his job.



**Celestine Sibley**

The Atlanta Constitution

# How Do Negroes Really Feel?

Atlanta, Ga.

# Occasional Letter Gives Hint

Mid 1-27-61 p. 5

A Georgia legislator remarked the other day that he wasn't as anti-Atlanta as rural representatives are reputed to be, particularly those once referred to by Marvin Griffin as "the boys from the boondocks and the branch heads." He even likes Atlanta, as a place to visit, of course. ("Wouldn't live here if you gave me the place.") And, genially aware that he was turning another deft cliche, he added, "Don't get me wrong. Some of my best friends are Atlantans."

There's one Atlanta attitude in his erstwhile south Georgia neighbors that disturbs him. Once they were fired up over preserving racial segregation in the schools, stores and public places. Now he finds they are either tepid on this question or not much interested at all.

"Of course," he temporized, "you have a different class of Nigra up here."

It occurred to me in going through the mail a day or so after my talk with this gentleman that he made a good point. He may not have been exposed to the ideas and feelings of any Negroes except those who work in his home or fields. The point of view of an educated, traveled, well-dressed, well-housed Negro is something he has missed altogether or else attributes to some Northern, vaguely sinister and subversive organization identified in his mind as the NAACP.

I can't claim that I know any Negroes who could temper his fevered aversion to equality of the races. I don't hear from many myself. But there is an occasional letter to give you a flash of insight into how some dark-skinned people feel. An Atlanta Negro woman wrote:

"Can you imagine being a lover of symphonic music and attending a concert only to be seated in the top balcony near the stage where only the percussions are visible? Can you think of having friends come to town who have made special studies of Joel Chandler Harris or have doctorate degrees in literature and not being able to take them to visit the 'Wren's Nest'? (Harris' old home.) . . . Do you think that moderately gifted children or even gifted would be welcome in some of our better schools if they happen to be of the wrong color?"

Then there was one letter from a young woman who said with a touch of sadness, I thought, that it would be "a very strange and naive Negro attending any recently integrated Southern college who would expect other than riots and coldness to await him."

"In fact," she added, "what the average Negro in such a situation would hope for at the best is coldness. . . . The Negro is surprised at the self-deceit that leads white Southerners to believe Negroes expect to be treated as other human beings."

And from a Negro mother: "The Negro child is taught at a very early age that the cold stares are coming and how to react toward them. Let them continue—the colder they are, the harder we fight because we know we can, with a prayer in our hearts, look beyond the cold stares and continue to climb."



**Celestine Sibley**

# John R. 'Fat' Hardy Writes About His 'Horrible Mistake'

The Atlanta Constitution

Atlanta, Ga. Jour. 11-14-61

The letter was signed "John R. Hardy" and I had not the foggiest idea who that could be. It was neatly typed, two pages, single spaced and the postmark was Reidsville—the home of Tattnall State Prison. I got past the first couple of lines beginning "On October 3, I was denied parole—my third to date" without any sense of recognition and was well into the second paragraph when I realized who my correspondent was. "Fat" Hardy, the man arrested 10 years ago in the deaths of 38 people who expired after drinking poison bootleg liquor!

Hardy is anxious that his cause be given some publicity. (So, for that matter, is Hoyt Ledford, who also wrote from Reidsville some weeks ago, asking for favorable publicity for his case. The reason he thinks he was wrongly sentenced was that the man he was convicted of killing in Polk County was in reality, he said, killed in Haralson County.)

Anyhow, on the ground that Hardy's situation, as he sees it, might be of interest, I offer here—and without comment—his letter:

"When I was sentenced as punishment for a crime called mass murder by some—negligent homicide by others, and a horrible mistake by myself, I felt that although at heart I was not what they accused me of, I was in fact a murderer, and therefore must serve the sentence. Naturally, any man sentenced to prison hopes that by proven conduct and a good record, he will be considered for parole and a new chance.

"When I was a bootlegger, my weight was 390 lbs. My size alone forbid my following many jobs that would otherwise suit my intelligence. Bootlegging was this fat man's resort for earning a living. It is not conceivable that I would intentionally commit a murder or sell bad liquor to the very people on whom I depended for a source of income.

"Lately, men who have been sentenced to life terms for murder (the direct variety) have been paroled, while I, it seems, have been made 'The bad boy of Georgia.' The press and the radio have kept my misdeeds alive and in front of the public eye just as vividly as when I went through the agony of my trial.

"I am now 53 years old. I have reduced my weight to 280 lbs. I have worked consistently at my prison job since 1953. I have retained old and acquired new friendships during my imprisonment—all friends who would help me re-establish myself in the event of parole—and I have been offered employment by two reliable companies.

"My part in the deaths of 38 citizens of this state was not intentional. In my 10 years of imprisonment I have made acquaintances and friends with the colored inmates that I work with (I work as a cook), and there has never been any accusations or bad feelings demonstrated by them toward me.

"I have maintained an exemplary record since coming to Reidsville. I have seen many men with life terms for murder paroled—these men came here after me, and left before me. . . . I do not have any money, and my life is fast approaching old age. My wife is still waiting for me—even after all these seemingly interminable years. If the press and the radio would just let me appear in front of the board as any other man; be considered upon my record of prison service, and my sorrow for what has happened in the past, I might have a chance to be paroled. . . . I will close with this thought: I did not knowingly or intentionally take a life. Still, I have been punished more than many a cold-blooded killer!"

31a 1961

**Covering the CROSS-ROADS**




with Jimmy Ward

Rotary Viewer reports the following: The Negro delegate to the NAACP convention had just given his boss a glowing report on the progress of the "sit-in-cafe" program. "But how goes the kneel-in program in your area?" asked the boss. "We are making some advances in that department, boss," replied the delegate, "but there is one question I would like to ask—how long is dem Georgia Baptists supposed to hold you head under water when dey baptize you?"

A Catholic friend tells this story, so nobody should accuse me of fanning religious prejudice: President Kennedy was on the phone when Pierre Salinger, his press secretary, came into the room. The president, with the receiver to his ear, said, "Yes, father. . .All right father. .. No, father. . .Sure, father. . . I'll get that report for you right away, father." And when Mr. Kennedy hung up, Salinger asked, "Home or Rome?"

Three small boys were hailed before the police court for committing a misdemeanor in the city park. When the judge asked them why they'd been brought before him, the first boy said, "I was throwing peanuts in the lake." The second boy said, "I was helping him throw peanuts in the lake." The third boy then spoke up: "I'm Peanuts."

* * *

"Men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put chains upon their own appetites; in proportion as their love of justice is above their rapacity; in proportion as their soundness and sobriety of understanding is above their vanity and presumption; in proportion as they are more disposed to listen to the counsels of the wise and good, in preference to the flattery of knaves. Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon the will and apetite is placed somewhere; and the less there is of it within, the more of it there must be without. It is ordained in the central constitution of things, that men of intemperate habits cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters."—Edmund Burke

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Ultra-liberals are having a real jazzy party jumping on the John Birch Society. Some patriotic friends are members of this group and to assault the society is a case of guilt by association, something the liberals won't tolerate for themselves but a perfectly innocent sporting game when they engage in same.

* * *

A game and fish report says that peanut butter can be fatal to small birds, because they can choke on it. There's little room to doubt the announcement. Who hasn't almost been done under by the delicious stuff?

* * *

A North Jackson youngster took home a library book entitled, "How to Hug." After cuddling up in a chair for extensive research, he discovered that it was Vol. 4 of an encyclopedia.

**Covering the CROSS-ROADS**




with Jimmy Ward

**The usual conductor of this column is in Europe and while Mr. Ward is away from his desk, noted writers will serve as guest columnists.**

FRANK VAN DER LINDEN

WASHINGTON — Bobby Kennedy may have thought he was waving a big stick at the South, to compel school integration, when he intervened in the Prince Edward county, Va., case, but conservative Southern Senators have seized that stick and are waving it about to club down Brother Jack's bill for $2.3 billion in Federal aid to education.

Bobby, the Attorney General, gave the conservatives exactly the proof they needed to sustain their charge that Dixie schools eventually would have to mix Negro and white students in order to qualify for their share of the Federal funds.

The Attorney General asked a Federal court to make Virginia stop spending any of its own state money on public schools anywhere until it reopens the Prince Edward county schools on a desegregated basis. They have been closed since 1959 to get around a Federal Court order for desegregation.

Now Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia and Strom Thurmond of South Carolina —the same two men who took the lead in bringing about the 1956 "Southern Manifesto" against school integration—are citing Bobby's action as final proof of their long-held suspicions that the school-aid bill will lead to integration.

If the Federal government can tell a state how to spend its own school money, it certainly can dictate how it will spend Federal money, the Senators argue.

Senator Russell Long of Louisiana has agreed: "That logic is completely inescapable."

Byrd and Thurmond are moving to form a solid Southern front against the school-aid bill, just as they did in lining up Southerners in Congress in 1956 to sign the manifesto pledging all legal resistance to the school integration decrees.

They had a little trouble persuading a few of the Dixie Senators to place their signatures on that historic document, because it was an election year and some Democrats feared the Manifesto would damage their attempts to woo Negro votes.

Now, several members of Congress from Southern states are eager to vote for a bill granting Federal funds to the schools. The teachers have been bombarding them with demands for the bill to raise the teachers' pay, and the heat of the National Education Association's lobby is terrific.

These unhappy lawmakers find themselves between two fires: the NEA's and the heat from the Southern conservatives, who are determined to let the voters back home realize that a vote for the school-aid bill is a vote for school integration.

Even if the bill has no "Powell amendment," requiring integration, Byrd and Thurmond have warned their colleagues, Bobby Kennedy's action in Virginia proves that

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**CROSS-ROADS**

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the administration will either issue an executive order or seek a rider on a future money bill barring Federal funds to schools refusing to desegregate.

Thurmond has told the other Southern Senators they must form an "organized effort" to oppose the school aid bill, "just as vigorously" as they have fought "any so-called civil rights bill."

"Organized efforts" on civil rights bills have usually meant filibusters. At the very least, Byrd and Thurmond intend to ask some embarrassing questions of the Democrats handling the Kennedy school bill on the Senate floor.

**Covering the CROSS-ROADS**




with Jimmy Ward

The fact that Gov. Nelson Rockefeller's son-in-law went afoul of Mississippi laws and got himself in jail poses an interesting question for the Democratic Kennedy clan. Should Bobbie Kennedy leave this Republican family man behind bars or should he don a black cape and dash to his rescue and snitch him through the jail bars in Zorro fashion? Ho hum, politics requires hazardous decisions.

The distinguished members of the clergy in our midst claim they came to Jackson to pray for us. We all stand in the need of prayer, but many of us wonder if this long-planned invasion wasn't a publicity stunt in an effort to have Mississippi tossed to the editorial lions of Eastern newspapers and the political Leo gangs up in Washington. Anyway, chalk up another major flop for racial agitators.

* * *

Several hours after the West predicted they would, Communists have fulfilled forecasts by claiming some East Germans are being kidnaped and whisked away as hostages. It would appear our intelligence agents are as acquainted with Soviet tactics almost as well as Mississippians can predict the conduct of these so-called "freedom riders."

* * *

Harry Haas, the Jackson architect and vocalist, tells of a neighborhood discussion on why hurricanes are named after women. Whereupon, a chap volunteered the sprite observation: "Sure, they're named after women. Have you ever heard of a his-icane?"

* * *

In 1954 a survey showed that 72 per cent of Guatemalans were illiterate. The United States advanced millions at that time to build new schools. Seven years later a survey just completed shows 72 per cent illiteracy in Guatemala. At least no ground has been lost under the promised miracle of Federal aid to education.

* * *

The 1961 report by the United States Commission on Civil Rights has been issued. In addition to being the most massive accumulation of belly growls in history, the publication is printed in black and white, a fact surely to arouse claims of discrimination and brutality by the usual groups.

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The NAAKP (that's the National Association for the Agitation of Kneegro People) has awarded the outfit's highest honor, the Spingarn medal, to Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, a psychologist who testified in cases which led to the Supreme Cote's 1954 race-mixing edict. This is the foremost case in history where a court ruled on the thinking of psychologists and sociologists instead of law and it set Earl Warren up as the first United States School Superintendent.

* * *

The following contribution by a reader is, we trust, offered as a bit of humor and not a suggestion. It says: If you don't believe in flying saucers, try tickling a waitress carrying a load of dishes."



**William S. White**

# People Have Right To Voice Opinion

WASHINGTON—The newly independent African nations are in need of more than economic aid and Western "know-how." Some, Nigeria in particular, are clearly in need of some small sense of humor and at least some trace of civilized tolerance.

This is the only important meaning of the great flap over the storied international crime committed by Margery Michelmore of the United States Peace Corps in Nigeria.

Miss Michelmore's historic offense seems to have stirred among some of the Africans and their toadies in the West more anger than is felt by them in this fifth anniversary season of a rather darker international crime. This was the murder by the Russians of thousands of Hungarians in the streets of Budapest.

What did Miss Michelmore do? Arriving in Nigeria, she was horror-stricken by the primitive living conditions there, as every American who ever went there has been so struck. On a private postcard intended for a private friend in the States, she commented on this squalor—and also made plain her friendship and sympathy for Nigeria.

She lost the postcard. Somebody picked it up and had it mimeographed and spread around Nigeria. Nigerian "students" set off a howling demonstration against her as an "agent of imperialism."

Miss Michelmore apologized and offered her resignation from the Peace Corps. Its director, Sargent Shriver, has thus far wisely refused to accept it.

Shriver all the same will be under heavy pressure to make some absurd sacrificial victim of her to appease "African opinion." The Prime Minister of Nigeria, Sir Abubaker Tafawa Balewa, has now publicly demanded that Miss Michelmore "be unequivocally condemned."

This correspondent can think of no pettier action by a head of state. The spectacle of a prime minister of a whole nation pursuing one 23-year-old youngster in this way is nothing short of sick-making.

And it is the more so because every honest adult in Washington knows that if any white national leader ever behaved in this way, this government would not wait 10 minutes to tell him where to get off.

The whole incident is a trifling one. But the way it has been inflated has put a heavy responsibility on Shriver. This is an obligation even higher than the obligation to be patient with those backward countries he is trying so hard to help. It is the obligation to maintain one of the oldest of all civil rights—the right of every man and woman and child to express an honest opinion, anywhere, any time.